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(Lloyd)

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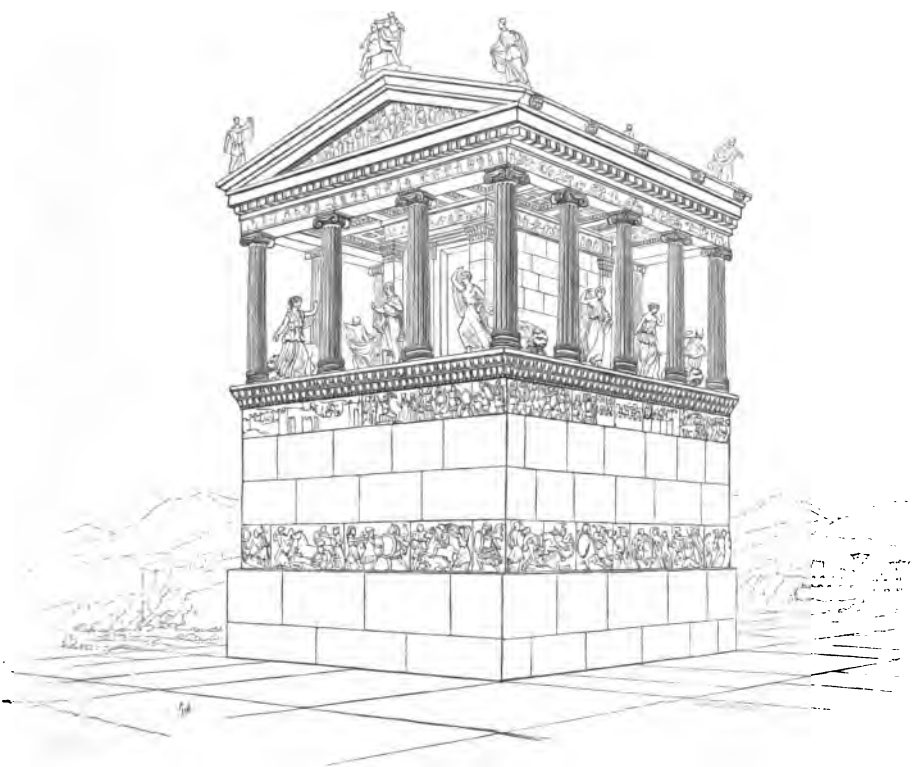
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Carey, Sawyer,  
Principles of free trade,  
1914, p 310, says that  
the scriptures represent  
general rather than  
individual "accomplishments."





**THE NEREID MONUMENT OF XANTHUS:**  
**RESTORED BY SIR CHARLES FELLOWS.**

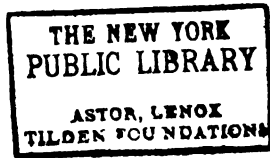
**XANTHIAN MARBLES:**  
**THE NEREID MONUMENT;**  
**AN HISTORICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL**  
**ESSAY.**

**BY WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD.**



**LONDON:**  
**WILLIAM PICKERING.**

1845.



Den Zusammenhang und Geist des alten Glaubens,  
Dichtens und Bildens zu erforschen und in den  
Werken des Alterthums den religiösen Mittelpunkt,  
worin sie sich vereinigen, nachzuweisen.

FR. CREUZER.

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**THE  
NEREID MONUMENT.**





## XANTHIAN MARBLES:

### THE NEREID MONUMENT.

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**I**N the course of a review of the relics and records of ancient Lycia, the heterogeneousness of the elements that encountered within its boundaries is very striking;—even more so, the compact nationality that was compatible with,—if it did not result from,—their mutual influences and reactions.

That this country should have rapidly become populous and highly civilized is not surprising; its natural fertility, advantageous position, and peculiarly defensible character coming in to the assistance of the energetic organism of ancient society: but much must still be ascribed to peculiar happiness in the original constitution of the people, to enable us to account for the unusual harmony with which parts so various, blended and combined into an operative whole. The depth can no more be mistaken than the diversity, of the influences that Lycia was subjected to, by early relations to Argos and Attica, Crete and Troy, not to insist on indications that suggest Etrurian analogies westward, and Persian, Assyrian, and Phœnician to the

east;—yet every record that is recovered, every combination that is established, illustrates and confirms the independence,—the national personality of the country and its civilization.

Within no other equal space in Asia Minor, are the remains that indicate past wealth and populousness, more striking and abundant than in Lycia, and not elsewhere are preserved such types of peculiarity in character of Cyclopean works, forms of tomb and sarcophagus, and remains of language,—no where else occur in combination so close, and within such narrow limits, analogies so diverse and of date so ancient, to the mythology and manners of other countries. Lycia thus, which presents so much that is peculiarly its own, presents nothing more so than the extent of its original combination of materials, borrowed, and from all quarters; and the development of this assimilative characteristic here is the more interesting, as implying that it obtained to a considerable extent,—at a certain period at least, or under certain circumstances,—with populations of first historical influence, Mede, Persian, and Greek, with whom the Lycians came early into relation.

Among these diversified combinations of the symbolism and antiquities of the country, Greek elements are still most salient, as well as chiefly attractive; and so far their predominance in such strange conjunctions, simply considered, might probably have led to the conclusion that Greek colonizers of Lycia had received from some Asian precursors or indigenæ, a stimulus and impression of unusual energy,—betrayed by traces too characteristic to be ascribed to a mere local development, even of the versatile

mind of the Greek. To argue more might, on the assumed grounds, have appeared hazardous ; but the discovery and, to a certain extent, identification of the Lycian language, —a branch of Indo-Germanic indeed, but more remote from Greek than Zend, leads us confidently and far beyond.\* This displays how alien was the race with which the Greek came into connection in Lycia ; and the extent and circumstances of its occurrence, on coins, tombs, and public monuments, witness how wide and permanent was its diffusion, and vindicate the terms by which Herodotus indicates the distinctly non-Hellenic character and manners, of the Lycians of his own time.

We have thus before us, evidence of the reception of a deep and decided tinge of Hellenism, by a race entirely unallied ; a phenomenon of the highest interest, that vindicates at once much that was otherwise most improbable, in the Homeric and mythic representations of the primitive intercourse of Greece and Asia ; and that must render the archæology of Lycia a chief authority, a capital instance, in all future attempts to recover literal statements of facts, out of the legends preserved by the Greeks of their earliest foreign relations.

The traces of this combination in the Lycian remains are indeed, as compared with Homer, of late date ; but Homer, as we shall have occasion to see, presents a picture of Lycia, that corresponds precisely in the association of Greek and Asian characteristics, with that exhibited in the monuments. The combination therefore existed in his age, and still farther, its origin was even then so remote as to

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\* V. Sharpe's Appendix to Fellows' Lycia.

be blended with legends that, in their obscurity and complex character, bear marks of the altering and modifying influences of long ages of tradition.

The elucidation of the composition of Homeric Lycia, throws light on that of Troy that has ever been an enigma. After every allowance made for Greek modes of representing foreign character, and for the unscrupulous liberties of the poetic sense of keeping, as explanatory of the great resemblance between the Greeks and Trojans of the *Iliad*, there still was felt to remain an unexplained phenomenon. Lycia solves the difficulty of reconciling the Greek characteristics of the Troad and Trojans, with their Asiatic and Thracian relationship, by exhibiting the possibility of a case, that seems to have appeared too hopeless even for statement as an hypothesis,—the superinduction of Greek habits and worships on a people neither Hellenic nor Pelasgian,—purely barbarian.

Thucydides had long ago remarked, that the later distinction between Greek and Barbarian was not apparent in Homer's delineation of Achaian and Trojan, and cited illustrations of the progress of the separation. But these examples gave no information how great were still the differences, in defiance of which so much sympathy and communication were practicable, and went little way to characterize the period as it must now be conceived. A period is to be inferred when, within whatever limits,—attraction was as much the rule between Greek and Barbarian, as was repulsion afterwards; an age of mutual receptiveness and transfusion, in striking contrast to the antagonism that succeeded it.

The illustration of the fact of such an era, is here rather

our business, than speculation on the causes that induced it or brought it to an end. It is enough that there is no lack of causes, that in themselves would be adequate to the results. Such combinations have been easily brought about at an era of mutual harmony—a point, however transient, of coincident civil development between alien races, by the sympathies, alliances, and common interests of princes and aristocracies, or by the activity and enterprise of a race of unbounded plasticity, because of limitless adventurousness. The transfusion of German maxims and habits through the courts of Europe, may serve for some illustration of these indirect influences; a better may be found in the history of the Normans, and the changes they wrought, as well as those they were the subjects of, in France, England, Apulia, and Sicily,—only defective from the disappearance of the race from an original seat where, as in the case of the Greeks, the more pure race might be brought into comparison with the modified and blended instances. There is nothing in the wildest legend of that spirit of adventure, by which the Hellenic race was, according to Herodotus, distinguished from the Pelasgic, that does not find its historical parallel in the authentic story of the Norman aristocracy.\*

But the age of Greek and Barbarian plasticity (failing a better word), thus evidenced and illustrated by the cha-

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\* The just admiration of the qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race has latterly so nearly degenerated into cant, that it is difficult to pass over any opportunity of noticing that the history of that race, after the Norman conquest, exhibits the same change that occurs with an undisciplined and disorderly rabble on becoming organized and officered.

racteristic agreement of Homeric and monumental Lycia, becomes most significant by its early date, and also by its agreement and coincidence with the plastic age of legend,—with the traditions of the migrations of Xanthus, son of Triopas, Bellerophon, Prætus, Perseus, and Lycus, from Peloponnesus and Attica; and of Cretan Sarpedon, of Cilix, and the Amazons. Consenting testimonies, in their nature and history of independent origin, vindicate and enforce respectful attention to historical materials, that taken alone are sufficiently equivocal. Thus, the monumental confirmation of the legend of Attic influence on the Tramelæ of Asia,—the migration of Lycus,—guides us to treat other similar legends as of equal authority, as historical records, disguised indeed, but by a recognized form and calculable amount of depravation.

In the process itself, of reducing the mythical agency of a hero, to the history of the race he personifies, there is nothing new; it is obvious and inviting, sometimes only too much so. In some cases it conducts with certainty to a fact, but in others to nothing more than an opinion more or less ancient, that may either be true or false;—that Dorus and Æolus were brothers, may be safely accepted as historical in the form of an allegation, that the Dorians and Æolians sprung from a common stock; but the parallel tradition, that Danaus and Egyptus were brothers, cannot be received as proof of equally close relationship between Danai and Egyptians, without some share of the abundant confirmation forthcoming in the former instance.

The great value of the revelation of Lycian antiquity, is the acquisition of such ancillary illustration in a large and most interesting class of cases. Since these discoveries,

the historical pretensions of such legends as those given by Herodotus,—of the common ancestry of Heraclidæ and Achæmenids,\* of the descendants of Perseus of Mycenæ giving his name to the Cephenees, of Medea of Colchis passing from Athens to the Artaioi, thence Medes; to represent early influence and intercourse between these peoples and princely families,—are placed on very different footing, are very considerably enhanced; and so in other and reverse instances, as of Phrygian Pelops at Elis, and of Belids at the Isthmus.

The presumption of an historical character here, is no longer checked by the objection, otherwise so cogent, of the improbability of such intercourse at the early age implied, the insuperable difficulties to be presented by difference of language and antipathies of Greek and Barbarian, and thus the very considerable evidence from other quarters becomes again available.

To derive the fullest advantage from this “glaring instance,” to elicit its full significance, it would be desirable to develop in detail every Lycian record, Hellenic or Barbaric. As some contribution towards this service, I offer the following observations on a monument, which as the most purely Greek of the collection, may appear to offer little promise of characteristic Lycian illustration; yet, on examination, I believe it will prove, directly or indirectly, more fruitful than might be expected.

This structure, which from its most conspicuous mythological decorations may be styled the NEREID MONUMENT, was placed at the edge of the cliff forming the origi-

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\* Herodot. vii. 61—150; vi. 54. Plat. Alcib. i.

nal acropolis of Xanthus. In consequence of this position it suffered peculiarly from that fearful earthquake which has left its traces more or less on every monument of the city. The earthquake, however, if not the first, was the latest ravager, and the ruins remained as it left them—though gradually buried and overgrown, until the arrival of the English explorer, who by carefully noting the position of the fragments, and by comparison of the architectural members, succeeded in producing a restoration, as satisfactory as elegant.

The drawing of the restoration, furnished by Sir Charles Fellows to the trustees of the British Museum, exhibits the monument as consisting of an Ionic peristyle on an elevated and inaccessible basement, the whole most elaborately enriched with historical and mythological sculptures. The basement is surrounded by two bands of bas-reliefs, or friezes; the upper representing the storming of a fortified city, with all its attendant accidents; the lower and larger series, a general battle of horse and foot, and between combatants in Greek costume and others of somewhat Amazonian appearance, but easily identified as representatives of Medes or Persians. There are four columns at either front, and five at the sides; the intercolumniations are unusually wide, and with the exception of four, occupied by statues of female figures in lively action and with flying draperies, with marine emblems—shells, fish, &c., beneath their feet. The four exceptions are the corner lateral intercolumniations, in each of which is a lion in the well-known menacing attitude of ancient monuments, with head to the ground and elevated hind quarters. The frieze of the cella represents sacrifices and funeral feasts. The cornice



is peculiar, the place of the usual Ionic frieze being occupied by dentils, and the architrave sculptured with bas-reliefs of hunts, and battles, and funeral offerings. One half of the western pediment is missing; the half that remains presents warriors defending themselves against an enemy, of whom we can only say with certainty, from the prancing fore feet that are visible, that he was on horseback.

The eastern and more important pediment is fortunately better preserved; its tympanum is occupied by a seated god and goddess, surrounded by youth of either sex; the external angles are surmounted by youthful female figures, and the apex by a group of two young men who support a child.

The external statues of the western pediment are much ruined, but appear to have been youthful and female, and are not associated with any trace of emblems.

The elucidation of the mutual relations of these symbolical, mythological, and historical enrichments to each other, and of all to the leading intention—the generative idea, of the entire structure,

“How parts relate to parts, and they to whole,  
The body’s harmony, the beaming soul;”

—this is the object which the ensuing observations are intended at least to promote, if they do not accomplish it. That such harmonious relations really exist, whether discoverable by analysis or not,—that the structure is not a mere arbitrary *jumble* of irrelevant ornament, is assumed from its general analogy to Greek Art, as confidently as a naturalist assumes the harmony between the structure and habits of the most novel nondescript.

The historical sculptures, the upper and lower friezes of the basement, are immediately recognizable as representations of the conquest of Lycia by the Persians, and the fall of Xanthus, as related by Herodotus.

Lycia, like Cilicia, remained to the last independent of Cræsus, who subjugated all other states of Asia west of the Halys, but after his defeat by Cyrus, it was attacked by the general of the conqueror, Harpagus, who had already subjugated Æolia, Ionia, and Caria (B.C. 548).

“When Harpagus,” says the historian, “advanced with his army into the Xanthian plain, the Lycians drew out, and fighting few against many, displayed their valour; but being worsted and shut up in the city, they collected in the acropolis their wives and children, wealth and slaves, and then set it on fire to burn the whole. Having done this, and mutually bound themselves by dreadful oaths, the Xanthians sallied, and died fighting to a man. Of the Lycians, at the present time, who profess to be Xanthians, the most, with the exception of eighty hearths, are new comers; these eighty families happened to be absent at the time, and it was so they escaped. Thus Harpagus obtained possession of Xanthus.”\*

That the fall of Xanthus, on this occasion, is the subject of the bas-reliefs of our monument, is evident on simple inspection, and even in detail they are in remarkable accordance with the historian.

In the upper series we have the population as well as militia seeking refuge in the town, troops rapidly advancing and mounting scaling ladders, the manned walls, the des-

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\* Herodot. 1. clxxvi.

perate sally.\* In one portion above the battlements are seen female figures with gestures that seem to indicate the sacrifice related by Herodotus. On the other hand the incident the marbles present of Lycian elders, apparently from their gestures and civil costume, engaged in negotiation or treating for terms, before the haughty seated Harpagus, is not mentioned in the narrative. In a similar catastrophe, that occurred in this neighbourhood at a later date,† the desperate council was that of the young men,—the elders advising negotiation like those of our marbles.

The lower and larger series of bas-reliefs represents a spirited battle, between combatants in Greek costume and opponents whose loose draperies and tiaras, similar to that worn by the Harpagus, appear to designate them as Medes, as well as others equipped like themselves—probably the contingents of the conquered Carians, Ionians, and Æolians. The horses introduced into the composition, favour the hypothesis that it represents the valiant conflict in open field, that according to Herodotus, preceded the siege.

The intercolumniated female dancing figures, as already intimated, are visibly Nereids; the marine and littoral

\* The stones grasped by the Xanthians to be employed as missiles, are *χερμαδια* (*saxa manus implentia*); such as are used by the Greeks of Homer in the defence of the wall;

οἱ δ' ἀρα χερμαδιοῖσιν ὑδμντων ἀπο πύργῳ  
βαλλον ἀμυνόμενοι. Iliad xii. 155.

With such a weapon Patroclus kills Cebriones;

σπαιη ἐγχος ἔχων· στερηφι δὲ λαζέτο πατρον  
μαρμαρον, κερποντα, τον οι περι χειρ εκαλυψεν.  
ηκε δ' ερεισαμενος. Ib. xvi. 734.

† Arrian.

emblems beneath their feet—shell, crab, tortoise, fish or bird (qy. the halcyon?)—are sufficient to identify them, and their “lightly bounding” attitudes are precisely those of the Nereids of the Orphic Hymn.\*

Apollonius gives a description of the Nereids, strikingly resembling the chorus of the monument;† “At once raising their draperies on their white knees, high on the very rocks and the breach of the waves, they rushed on either side at intervals from each other.” The resemblance invites the conjecture that the poet, during his prolonged residence at Rhodes, visited Xanthus, and transferred to his poem a reminiscence of its Agalma; but it is more probably accounted for, by regarding the Chorus of Nereids as one of those numerous subjects, that were constantly repeated by Greek artists, and always with more or less strict reverence or feeling, for a primitive type. Apollonius farther compares the Nereids to maidens playing at ball on the sea shore, with draperies girt for lively motion, like those before us;‡ “Having wound the folds of their draperies apart on their waists.”

I find no one of them distinguished from the rest by signs of preeminence, and I am not aware of any characteristic difference between the sisters of the two fronts of the building. Of their general and special appropriateness to the monument more hereafter; at present in entering on

\* Η νυμφαῖς τερπὴν κυανοπυσίῃ ἐν χθονὶ δια-  
θυσίας ἐπ’ αἰγιαλοῖς φαιμαδίῃσιν ἀλματι κουφῶ.

† Αὐτικ’ ἀνασχόμεναι λευκοῖς ἐπὶ γούνασι πῆζας,  
ὕψου ἐπ’ αὐτῶν σπιλαδὼν καὶ κυματὸς ἀγῆς  
ρῶσσιγ’ ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα διασταδὼν ἀλλήλησι. Argon. iv. 940.

‡ Διχα κόλπον ἐπ’ ἰζύας ἐιλίξασαι. Argon. iv.

the consideration of the mythological sculptures, it is becoming to turn at once to those which identify the edifice, by their agreement with the desiderated illustration of which we can in this instance avail ourselves,—“a genuine local tradition.”

The eastern pediment is divided between a god and goddess, who, enthroned facing each other, are each surrounded by youth of their respective sexes, of various ages, and thus appear as Kourotropic divinities; a mode of representation which, taken in connection with the farther development of the idea by the statues that decorate the roof, and also with the historical sculptures, identifies our monument as the *agalma* of Hephæstus fiery, and Aphrodite Uranian and Olympian, celebrated in the Hymn of the Lycian Proclus.

This remarkable man (nat. A.D. 412, obt. A.D. 485), who presided for many years over the Academy,—a successor of Plato, may be considered to have closed, in some respects not unworthily, the long and glorious series of authors of Pagan Greece, as he lived to witness the destruction of the noblest emblem of their genius, in the removal from the Parthenon of the Athene of Phidias. His parents were both Xanthians of wealth and distinction,—Lycians, says his biographer, both by race and worth. At Xanthus he received the rudiments of his education; and he alludes to his Lycian origin, as well in his epitaph as in the Hymn that we are chiefly interested in. Every page of his interesting biography, avouches his intimate acquaintance with the oldest religions and traditions of Asia Minor, and though those of his works, which would have been most illustrative of them are lost, much information is still to be

gathered from those that remain, in some degree compensating for our want of such a gleaner over this ground, as for Greece Proper we happily possess in Pausanias.\*

## HYMN TO APHRODITE.

"We hymn the Queen of the Lycians, Kour-Aphrodite, (*Venus virginalis*, Steph.)

Whose ill-averting aid once enjoying,

The divinely-prompted leaders of our country

Founded in the city a sacred monument,

5 Having the symbols of mystic marriage, of the mystic spousals  
Of Hephæstus fiery and Uranian Aphrodite, (Vulcan and Venus,)

And styled her Olympian Goddess;—by whose power

Often they escaped the exterminating bane of death,

But still kept the eye on valour; from prolific beds,

10 Sprung up (*as a field of corn*) a firm, fine-spirited progeny,  
And there was a general gentle-gifted calm of life.

But deign to receive, Goddess august, the incense of our

Eloquence, for I too am of the blood of the Lycians;

Raise my soul up again from degradation to manifold grace,

15 Escaped from the ruinous insanity of earth-sprung impulse."

That the *agalma* here alluded to by Proclus, is that of which the British Museum now contains the most interesting remains, is evinced by its site, by the associated Divinities of the eastern pediment,† and the unequivocal crop of a rising generation by which they are surrounded

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\* ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥΣ ΑΥΚΙΟΥ

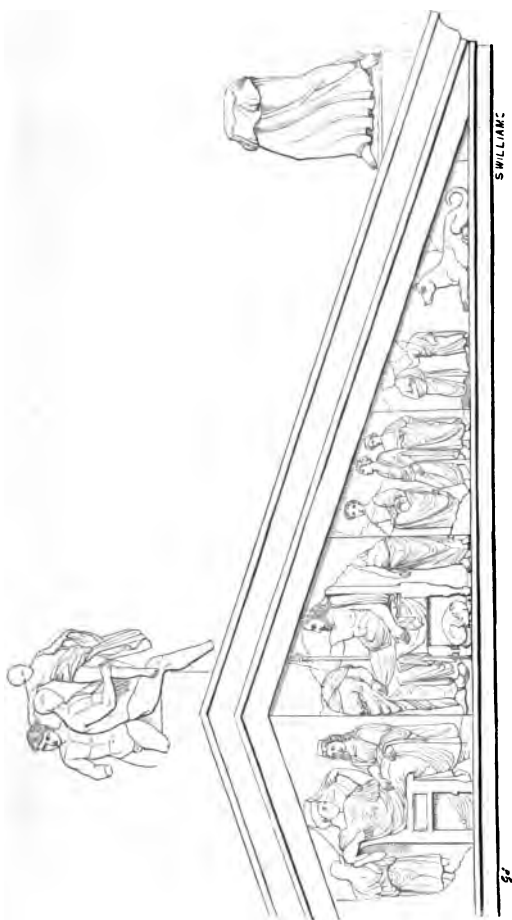
ΕΙΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΝ.

ΤΜΝΕΟΜΕΝ Λυκίων βασιλῆϊδα Κουραφροδίτην,

ἥς ποτ' ἀλεξιμάκαιο περιπλήθοντες ἀραγῆς

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† See vignettes, opposite and at title-page; these are executed after the drawings and under the superintendence of Mr. Geo. Scharf, jun.; a sufficient guarantee that with the attainment of elegance, their archæological accuracy may still be relied on.



**EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE NEREID MONUMENT.**





and surmounted,—and by the exhibition in the bas-reliefs of the desperate valour of the Lycians, despite of which it was that they escaped extermination. I think I even discern, in the eleventh line, in the metaphor of a calm, a trace of the suggestiveness of the sea nymphs.

Thus it would appear, that the monument was dedicated to the Powers of prolific Nature, as an expression of gratitude for the restoration of the prosperity and population of the city, after the devastating conquest of Harpagus; for it is evident that this is the only catastrophe to which the sculptures refer, however the eighth line may be understood. That the edifice, by a frequent combination, partook of the character of tomb as well as temple, appears not more from the resemblance of its model to other tombs of Asia Minor, especially the celebrated Mausoleum of Artemisia, than from the subjects of the small friezes of the cornice and cella, which correspond with the formulary decorations of most of the enriched tombs of Lycia. In this view it must be regarded more particularly, as the Heröon of the valiant opposers of Harpagus, whose de-

- Πατριδος ἡμετέρης θεοφράδμονες ἡγεμονῆες  
 ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο κατὰ πτολίεθρον ἀγαλμα,  
 5 Σύμβολ' ἔχον νοεῖοιο γάμου, νοεῶν ὑμναίων  
 Ἡφαίστου πυρέντος ἰδ' οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης,  
 Καί ἑ θεῆν ὀνόμαζαν Ολύμπιον, ἧς διὰ κάρτος  
 Πολλάκι μὲν θανάτοιο βροτοφθόρον ἔκφυγον ἰδν,  
 Ες δ' ἀρετὴν ἔχον ἔμμεα. Τελεσσιγόνων δ' ἀπὸ λέκτρων  
 10 Εμπεδος, ἀγλαήμητις ἀνασταχύεσκε γενέθλη,  
 Πάντη δ' ἡπιόδαρος ἔην βιότοιο γαλήνῃ.  
 Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμετέρης ὑποδέχυνσο, ποττα, θυπλὴν  
 Εὐεπίης· Λυκίων γὰρ ἀφ' αἵματος εἰμὶ καὶ αὐτός.  
 Ψυχὴν δ' ἂψ ἀνάειρον ἀπ' αἰσχεος ἐς πολὺ κάλλος,  
 15 Γηγενέος προφυγυσαν ὁλοῖον οἴστρον ἔρωης.

struction is represented below, while above are the beneficent Divinities by whom the destruction is repaired.

A remarkable parallel thus becomes apparent between the symbolism of our monument and that of the Harpy Tomb,\*—the representation, here historically, as in the former instance, by a mythus (of the Harpies) of the work of Death, accompanied by an expression of faith in the indestructible, reproductive power of life;

“The earth that’s nature’s mother is her tomb,  
What is her burial place that is her womb;”

the same predominant idea, the early prevalence of which in Asia Minor seems to have determined—directly and by antagonism—the character of that Ionian philosophy, that occupies so important a place in the leading series of events, to which the cultivated mind of progressive Europe owes so much of its actual modification.

It might not be difficult to trace the influences of this principle variously modified, among the heresies and heterodoxies of which this country was so fruitful, as well as among the very diversified religious forms, with which the Christian missionaries first came into collision; here it is to be divined from the impression it confers on the ever faithful and pertinent controversialism of Paul,—at an earlier date, and in very different form, but with scarcely inferior truthfulness, it is displayed by Homer, as a ruling Lycian association of ideas, in the speech of Glaucus.

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\* See an account of this monument in a slight Essay published by the present writer in 1844.

1. Tydides bold, wherefore concerning race do you inquire ?
2. Such as of leaves the race, such also that of men ;
3. The leaves,—these the wind sheds on the ground, but others again the forest
4. Shooting forth produces, and the spring season is arrived ;
5. Thus of men, one race springs,—another comes to end. \*

The disposition to moral reflectiveness, in association with the phenomena of Nature, that appears here and in so much of the mythology of these countries, must have continued to characterize the people to whom Paul addressed the following:—"We preach unto you that you should turn unto the living God which made heaven and earth and the sea and all things that are therein, who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless he left not himself without witness in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." (At Lystra. Acts xiv.)

At what date, then, and by whom was the monument erected ?

The statement of Proclus, that the *agalma* was raised by Lycian leaders or princes,† if taken into account with the subject, as well as the sumptuousness, of the lavishly enriched monument, goes far to imply, that at the date of its erection, Lycia was absolutely or comparatively independent.

And is not Herodotus a witness here ? The monument, as we have seen, expressly ascribes the restoration of the populousness of Xanthus, to the fruitful influences of the

\* Iliad vi. 145.

† θεοφράδμονες ἡγεμονίης—"heaven-born ministers."

prolific powers; and turning from this to the statement of the historian, so peculiarly worded and bearing an emphasis most marked and significant, however untranslatable,\* that “of those of the Lycians who now say that they are Xanthians, the majority are new comers,”† an intimation becomes apparent, that is quite in the Historian’s calm manner of setting his mark on a false pretension, whether of Hecatæus, the Ionian and Pythagorean philosophers, or any one else. Directly stated, his account amounts to this:—“The present inhabitants of Xanthus pretend to be descendants of the valiant opposers of Harpagus, and have even built a monument to keep their pretensions in countenance; which, however, have so little foundation, that with eighty exceptions they are all strangers, and those eighty were absent at the time of the siege.” The impression from this comparison is very strong that Herodotus, so indefatigable a traveller, and who sprung from the neighbouring Halicarnassus, visited Xanthus, and saw this very monument either built or building, and had it in his mind when he wrote the passage quoted.

This is quite consistent with what little is to be known or guessed, of the political condition of Lycia at the time.

Cimon, son of Miltiades (470 B.C.), following up the victories of Salamis and Mycale, “sailed with a considerable fleet towards Caria, where he immediately induced the maritime cities of Greek origin to revolt from the king, and as many as were bilingual and had Persian garrisons he attacked and besieged; and having associated the Carian

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\* Τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φερόμενον Ξανθίων ἵνα:—i. 176.

† ἐπηλυδοίς.

cities, he took in, in the same manner, the whole of those in Lycia." \*

The proceedings of Cimon are said to have produced a treaty that ended the Persian war; among its terms are mentioned stipulations that all Greek cities on the continent should be free, that no satrap should come within three days' journey of the sea, and that no Persian long ship should sail west of Phaselis—thus excluding them from the Xanthus. Even the authorities that denied, there is little doubt on good grounds,† a regular treaty, fully admitted the results.

These events amount to a recovery of Lycian independence, and I can find no trace of the circumstances under which it was lost again within the time of Herodotus. Indeed, but for the hints and inferences furnished by the inscribed stele of Xanthus, and the inscription and sculptures of the tomb of the satrap Payara, the absence of any notice of satraps in Lycia might accredit the assertion of Isocrates, that none of the Persians ever was master of Lycia.‡

The Lycians must be included among the allies whose vessels increased the fleet of Cimon, and thus Lycians would have part in the double victory of the Eurymedon, and probably a share of the enormous spoil. These are precisely the events that give the impulses to national

\* Diod. Sic. xi. 60.

† Plutarch, Cimon, 13. The story was apparently invented to contrast with the treaty of the Spartan Antalcidas, which gave up the Asian Greeks.

‡ Λυκίας δ' οὐδε εἰς πώποτε Περσῶν ἐκράτησεν.

Isoc. Panegy.

spirit as well as prosperity, from which such works as the Nereid Monument proceed.

It seems one of those elaborate works with which Greece itself abounded, that arose from the spirit diffused by the shameful defeat of the Great King in person, at the head of an embattled world,—works conceived and executed in the first glow of enthusiasm and independence, excited by the sense of the commencement of a new and vigorous era. The just pride of the Athenians, soon the dominant power in Greece, in the sacrifices they had made for liberty in the abandonment of their city to flames and desolation, and the new impulse given to the arts by their vast commemorative and decorative works, may have easily suggested to the Xanthians, an emulative reminiscence of the heroism of their own city. Their communication with Athens at the time of the erection of this edifice, is evinced by the close correspondence of many portions of its sculptures with those of the Parthenon, and still more of the Phigalian frieze, and would be a consequence of the Lycian transactions of Cimon, and their participation in the victories of the Eurymedon. A Greek inscription in the city has even borrowed or stolen—though to make but indifferent use of it—the first line of the celebrated epigraph of Cimon's trophy for this very victory.

Thus, whether we take the direct assertion of Proclus, or the indirect reflection of Herodotus, and compare the suggestiveness of the historical era, the edifice appears to be a national monument erected by genuine Xanthians, or those who would pass for such, to commemorate alike the valour and catastrophe of their ancestors, and their own gratitude to the divine powers for recovered numbers and prosperity.

But there are certain appearances of a mixed character, in connection with the building, which at first appear inconsistent with this theory of its origin, and are only to be reconciled by the consideration of the probable state of Xanthus at this time, in respect of the ascendant races and families.

The architecture of the monument is less Lycian than Carian,—as a tomb, it is not of the model peculiar to Lycia, but analogous to those of Caria,—by his familiarity with which, indeed, it was that Sir Charles Fellows was led, in the first instance, to the happy idea of its restoration. It is true that, considering it as a temple, we have no proper Lycian model with which to contrast it;—the absence, however, of characteristic Lycian details of imitative timber construction and joinery, is equally significant.

Then again, the inscribed stele bears the name of a son of Harpagus, which, with other evidence of the permanent connection of the family with Lycia, agrees so remarkably with the somewhat triumphant position of the Harpagus, in the centre of a frieze of the principal front of the building, as to suggest the idea that it was of the nature of a trophy commemorative of their ancestors' exploit;—or, if a tomb, a tomb rather of the slain of the victors than the vanquished. Under this theory, the Carian architecture of the tomb would be explained by reference to the Carian allies of the Mede.

## SECTION II.

**F**IRST, then, of the Carians.—Harpagus having completed the subjugation of Ionia, proceeded against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking along with him Ionians and Æolians,—that is to say, recruiting his army with the population of the conquered countries, according to the practice of conquerors in general, and, as regards the Persians, exemplified on so enormous a scale in the expedition of Xerxes. Ionia had made a long and determined resistance; but Caria, with the exception of the Pedasians,—who, in the Ionian revolt afterwards, appear again taking a separate course,—submitted to Harpagus without any opposition of moment. Cnidus made preparations for resistance; but, with the plea of an oracle, gave them up and surrendered without a blow.

It is to be supposed that the Carians would experience different treatment from the Ionians; and other motives, besides mere want of courage, may have led to the surrender, such as agreement for the security or even extension, of the influence of the ruling factions or families. According to Zonaras, Cyrus treated them as voluntary allies. Of the relation which would thus exist between Caria and the Medes, we have an instructive example of later date. In the revolt of Ionia under Darius, a portion only of Caria participated; and when, in the course of its suppression, Miletus was captured and its inhabitants slain or



carried into the interior of Asia, the Persians retained themselves a portion of its territory near the city and in the plain, and gave the highlands, doubtless in return for good service, to the Carians of Pedasa.\* That the Carian allies of Harpagus may in the same way have supplied the place of the devoted Xanthians, becomes probable from this analogy, and would account for the foreign character of the monument before us. Of the erection of such a building by Carians, and under circumstances somewhat similar, a curious example occurs.

Vitruvius states that the Carian princess Artemisia, (builder of the Mausoleum, so very similar to the structure before us,) dedicated at Rhodes, in commemoration of her conquest of the island, a trophy, which consisted of a group in bronze of herself, and a personification of the humiliated Rhodes. This trophy, he proceeds, the Rhodians, when they recovered their independence, from religious motives scrupled to remove, but they raised a building round the place, and covered it with an elevated Greek *statio*, so that it could not be seen, and entitled it Abaton,—“inaccessible.”†

After the representations with which we are furnished by Sir Charles Fellows, of the peculiarity of Carian architecture, it requires no particular sagacity to discern, that the real dedication of Artemisia was a structure in Carian taste, consisting of a Greek elevation on a high and inaccessible basement, like the Nereid Monument, and that the story of the bronze group inclosed within it, grew up out

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\* Herod. vi. 20.

† Vitruv. l. ii. c. 8.

of the necessity for an explanation of some sort, and the temptation for a singular one, of what, compared with pure Greek or Roman models, was an architectural anomaly. Vitruvius is almost as full as Pausanias of such artistic Euhemerism.

But the presumption thus discovered, that the edifice is a trophy of Carian victors over the slaughtered Xanthians, stultifies the obvious and unavoidable significance of the mythological adornment of the edifice; the symbolical appropriateness and point of this is lost; the relation of the protasis to the apodasis of its enunciation,—of the Xanthians desolated, to the Xanthians reviving by the kind influences of Kourotrophic powers, is entirely dissolved. What thanks to them for populousness derived from wholesale immigration?

The following considerations may go some way to harmonize this discord and reconcile the Carian and Lycian interests of the symbolism of the building. That its Carian character is due to the Carian powers or population, supposed to be introduced some 70 years before by Harpagus, may be admitted, and becomes more probable from the appearance to be demonstrated presently, that the presiding goddess came hither from Caria, and thus had naturally an *agalma* of native, and perhaps established model. But Herodotus tells us, that the customs of the genuine Lycians were partly Carian, and thus a point of fusion and principle of affinity existed between them and the “new comers;” and that this had not been without effect, is perhaps seen in the circumstance, that Herodotus calls the “strangers” Lycians still, and not Carians, and indicates, as we have seen, their pretensions to be Xanthians by legitimate

descent. The sumptuous tomb of Cadyanda,\* on the other hand, which appears to bear names of members of the Carian royal family, is of Lycian model, and bears Lycian inscriptions. We shall find that the mythology of the monument is not without a genuine Lycian aspect and appropriateness, and the inquiry to which we immediately proceed, will introduce us to phenomena far stranger than the fusion of Carian and Lycian populations, though of the same class, and so far confirmatory of it.†

We have seen that the name of Harpagus, found in both the Lycian and Greek inscriptions of the stele at Xanthus, suggests that the family of the general of Cyrus, retained a permanent connection with the country he reduced. Such hereditary transmissions of satrapies, were frequent in the Persian empire; and the supposition in this case, appears to afford a ready explanation of the monument before us, as a family trophy, and thus demands minute examination.

At the close of the Ionian revolt, a Harpagus—called indeed, by Herodotus,‡ a Persian, not like the elder, a Mede—is found in Mysia at the head of some considerable force, with which he defeats Histiaëus, once tyrant of Miletus, and takes him prisoner. He takes his captive to Sardis, and there, in agreement with Artaphernes, satrap

\* Fellows' Discoveries in Lycia.

† Artemisia, who (Herod. viii. 68) reflects so severely on the character of the Cilicians, Cyprians, and Pamphylians, has nothing to say against the Lycians, although her immediate neighbours. The epitaph of Sarpedon, in Greek anthology, associates Carian with Lycian kings.

Καρὲς καὶ Λυκιοὶ βασιλεῖς Σαρπηδόνα διόν  
ἔατον ἐπὶ προχοαῖς ἀναίου ἐθέσαν.

‡ Lib. vi. 28—30.

of Ionia, from apprehension of his recovery of his former interest with Darius, puts him to death. The common interest here ascribed to Harpagus and Artaphernes, argues a similarity of position, which would agree with our hypothetical connection of Harpagus with Caria and Lycia, and may be farther illustrated by the recollection, that a recovery of influence by Histæus might have affected the occupants of his former territory of Miletus, a rich spoil which, as we have seen, was divided between Persians and Carians.

It was the son of this Artaphernes of the same name, who commanded the expedition against Greece, defeated at Marathon, in conjunction with Datis—who, conjecture hints, may have been son of his father's colleague Harpagus, and like himself, heir to a paternal satrapy. The expedition sailed from the south of Asia Minor,—Datis, precisely like the elder Harpagus, led Æolians and Ionians,—the conduct of the Greek war is constantly assigned to the satraps of the western coast of Asia, and Datis is not mentioned in connection with any other. His respectful tenderness for Delos, as seat of Apollo and Artemis, and his ceremonious remission of the statue of Apollo to Delium, are usually referred to his identification of the divinities with the sun and moon; the hypothesis of his intimate connection with Lycia would lead us to ascribe it to regard for the Lycians, as devoted to the worship of Apollo, and veneration of the sacred Delos, with which their own legends connected it.\*

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\* Datis, according to Suidas, admired the Greek language, and endeavoured, though with but indifferent success, to acquire it; his failure, at

But conjecture apart,—the concern of a descendant of Harpagus in the erection of the Nereid Monument, would imply on his part considerable Carian and Hellenic naturalization,—and under any conclusions the historical charac-

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least, enriching it with a name for such attempts in the word *Datism*. In some respects, therefore, the egregious Greek epitaph of the inscribed stele, celebrating the son of Harpagus, might be not unworthy of him; and it is at least odd, that the name *Datis* corresponds with what few letters of the name of the son of Harpagus are legible on the stone, and would suit the metre.

Here, however, we are met by the objection, that the forms of the letters do not admit of an earlier date for the inscription than some fifty years before Alexander; and thus trace appears of still a third Harpagus in Lycia, presumably a descendant of the first conqueror, whose family would thus appear to have retained the satrapy to a late date, and this last Harpagus—or still more probably, his son, who, according to the inscription, dedicated that stele, “such as Lycian never dedicated since sea divided Europe and Asia, and decorated the Carian (?) race with works of the greatest beauty,” becomes a claimant to the title of founder of the Nereid Monument.

But assuming that palæography can speak with confidence on the date of a Greek inscription at Xanthus, I should feel inclined to doubt whether it is the original inscription. It limps most lamentably both in sense and metre, and is cut, on a faulty part of the stone, with excessive rudeness and carelessness, for which orthography suffers in almost every line. It states, that the stele was erected by the Son of Harpagus, and dedicated as a deathless memorial of victories and war; yet it is certain, from its ruins, that it was originally a tomb of the same kind and model as the Harpy Monument. From the examples that remain, this appears to have been one of the most ancient forms of Lycian tombs. The antiquity of this monument is also inferred, from the differences between the alphabets of its several Lycian inscriptions, which seem to imply, that considerable interval elapsed between the addition of each; and a late addition is, perhaps, still more likely to have been Greek than Lycian. In one of the Lycian inscriptions, that are cut with the greatest regularity and neatness, occur the words, *Son of Harpagus*; and the title *Satrap*, that is read also on the satrap's tomb. These are vague ideas, the riddle must be solved by the interpreters of the Lycian language.

teristics of Datis illustrate the possibility of such changes. Among the marbles the mixed Greek and Persepolitan character of the Lion Tomb is a case in point—and others are at hand.

The monument is not more purely Asian Greek, not more perfectly destitute of specific Persian character, than the inscription celebrating the son of Harpagus, in the divinities referred to, the twelve Gods of the Agora, Athene town destroyer and Zeus (Ephestios?) and the formulas of glorification, the athletic victory and slaughter of seven hoplites, which occur on Asian Greek inscriptions.

That this inscription, if indeed an ancient forgery—fit subject for the critical talents of Arriphon of Lycia,—the Boeckh of antiquity\*—is a forgery of very early date, and so good evidence for a familiar probability, appears from the correspondence of its tenor with the sculptures of the tomb of the Satrap Payara.

Here we have, as in the inscription, an acropolis captured by the hero, hoplites slaughtered, and that the naked youth, over whose head the elder raises his hand, is an athletic champion, appears from the oil bottle and strigil held by the formular antitype of the figure, in the tomb at Myra,—that he is a victorious athlete proclaimed, I infer from the type of such proclamations given in the life of Proclus, to whom, says Marinus, the God Æsculapius appeared in a dream, and standing by him with out-

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\* . . . . . "Α δὲ ἤκουσα ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ γεγραφθαι τῇ πεποιημένῃ τοῦ ὀρειχάλκου, οὐδὲ ταῦτα ὄντα Φιλάμμωνος Ἀρρίφων εὔρε, τὸ μὲν ἀνεκαθεν, Τρικωνεύς τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίας, τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Λυκιῶν τοῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως δόκιμος. δεινὸς δὲ ἐξευρεῖν, ἃ μὴ τις προτέρων εἶδεν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα φωρᾶσαι. Paus. ii. 37, 3.

stretched arm, with the set form and gesture of those who speak the encomia of persons in the theatre, exclaimed, "Proclus, the ornament of the state."

The satrap himself sits in Persian state, with cowl, dagger, and attendant, precise transcripts of Persian monuments. The persons introduced to him, in the same form as the leaders of the various nations of the grand staircase of Persepolis, may perhaps be the princes of the inscription, relatives or not, who owe sovereignty to his gift or sufferance.

The last formula of laudation seems to be most like genuine Persian, from its agreement with the practice and probably the distinct maxim of Persian monarchs, singularly contrasted with the usual jealousies of despotisms,—to govern provinces by conferring the almost independent sovereignty of them on their nearest relations. Compare the administrations of the brothers and sons-in-law of Darius, younger Cyrus, &c.

I am not aware of a better restoration of the concluding line of the inscription, than that which would bring the son of Harpagus into connection with the Carian race, or the race of Car.\* For a peculiar view of Persian customs, which presents them in an aspect that harmonizes more precisely with Greek and Lycian than that furnished by Herodotus, see Strabo xv.

The palpable adoption by Persian dignitaries of Carian if not Lycian manners, so remarkably in accordance with the spirit of the old legends of Greek and Barbarian intercourse, may perhaps partly be ascribed to the circum-

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\* Καρικον γένος—Strabo.

stances which we shall see to be implied by the name of Harpagus,\* and beyond these, to the refinement and attractiveness of the civilization of the conquered countries reacting on the victors,—a frequent phenomenon in the history of the Arsacidæ and other Asian dynasties; to the obvious political interest of conciliation which we have conjectured to have operated on Datis; to the prevalence at an earlier date of Oriental elements in Lycia and Caria, and perhaps most of all, to the continued influence under Persian rule, of the old princely families which boasted a dignity and antiquity rivaling the Achæmenids themselves.

Of the flourishing of such families in Lycia, though at a period far earlier than we now refer to, we shall have to speak hereafter. In Cilicia and Caria their existence is discovered by the still recurring names of Syennesis, Artemisia, Mausolus, &c., in almost every notice that is preserved of the countries. The long distinction of these families, as well as their analogy to those of Greece and Lycia, of which accounts are more detailed, intimates that they had the advantage of a religious *prestige* attaching to their race as of heroic origin if not divine, and the same conclusion is favoured as well by the composition of their names, as in the case of Caria by the strange custom of fraternal marriages, illustrated in this aspect by the usages and pretensions of the royal family of Persia, and later of the Ptolemies. (Thus Hecatæus, of Miletus, who appears in the exercise of political influence, made pretensions to the Egyptian priests of descent from a God.)†

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\* Vide Appendix—Harpagus the Mede.

† Herod. ii. 143.



It was not, I suspect, without relation to this popular feeling, that Pixodarus,\* endeavouring to support his usurped authority by Persian assistance, gave his daughter in marriage to the satrap Orontobates, and thus it becomes apparent that when Alexander, advancing into Caria, procured his adoption by Ada the expelled Queen, he was acting in accordance with his usual policy of connecting respect for his person and politics, with the dominant religious associations of every subjugated nation. The instincts of heroes and politicians are proverbially the same in all ages, and the family of Harpagus may easily have resorted to the same notorious principle of statecraft.

The government of these southern and equivocally Hellenized states of Asia Minor, from the close of the Ionian revolt downwards to the fall of Persia, was on a different footing to that of Ionia, and the satrapy of which Sardis was the capital. After that revolt was put down (B. C. 494) Mardonius suppressed the native tyrants, of the class of Histiaëus and Aristagoras, who had ruled their several cities in subordination to the satrap, but nothing is said of his interference with Lycia, Caria, or Cilicia; and it is in accordance with this that Herodotus, enumerating the personages who took part in the expedition of Xerxes, who were most distinguished after the Persian satraps and generals, names princes of Caria, Lycia, and Cilicia, but none from the northern provinces. The dignity of these rulers is exemplified in the position which the historian assigns to Artemisia, in relation to Xerxes; and Damasithumos is

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\* Arrian.

styled by him, King of Calynda.\* That they are native princes appears by their names, Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis; Histiaëus, son of Tymnes; Pigres, son of Seldomos; Syennesis, son of Oromedon; Damasithumos, son of Candaules, and the Lycian Cyberniscus Sika (?) whose name however presents some difficulties.

The occurrence of the Phrygian name Candaules as father of a Damasithumos, appears to present an example of the intermarriages of these princely houses, of which instances are seen in the Pixodarus of Cyndya, son-in-law of a Cilician, Syennesis;† the Cretan mother of Artemisia; the Cappadocian wife, Aphneis, of the later Pixodarus,‡ and perhaps the Carian mother of Cræsus.

The marriage of the daughter of this Pixodarus, has already brought to our notice a mixed Persian alliance, to which may be added the instances of the Rhodian brothers, Mentor and Memnon, sons-in-law of the satrap Artabanus.§

(The celebrated satrap Datames, son of Camissares, was Carian,|| and son-in-law of Mithrobarzanes.)

Considerations like these, lead up to the probability that the family of Harpagus, settled in Lycia, may have connected themselves with native or Carian princes; and thus support is gained for the theory of the Nereid Monument, which discerns in the influence of that family, the key to the appearance of the celebration of their ancestor, that is combined with its Carian characteristics.

\* Compare Aulus Gellius, x. 18. "Mausolus autem fuit, ut M. Tullius ait, rex terræ Cariæ; ut quidam Græcarum historiarum Scriptores, provinciæ Græciæ præfectus. Satrapen Græci vocant."

† Herod.

‡ Arrian.

§ Arrian.

|| Corn. Nepos.

The monuments of Xanthus afford some proofs of the alliance of the conquerors, Mede or Persian, not only with Carians but with Lycians. The form of the tomb of the satrap, its mythology and inscriptions, are Lycian, and at one end are two warriors sculptured apparently in honourable guise, who are recognizable as Lycians by their flowing locks,\* the subject of a very strange Lycian anecdote in the Aristotelian *Œconomica*;† and the terms of the Greek inscription are to the same effect; the son of Harpagus competes with Lycians in manly exercises and public erections.

Thus it would appear, as if the settlement of Persians and their allies in the devastated Xanthus, had led to a fusion with the native race, and a community of sympathy of which the Nereid Monument is the harmonious expression. Thus we should have a glimpse of the process by which Pedasa, in Caria, that alone offered determined resistance to Harpagus, became afterwards, in the Ionian revolt,‡ the Persians' best-deserving Carian ally; and in this manner arrive at some explanation of the combination in the same monument of Carian, Lycian, and Persian interests and characteristics. The result of this fusion, appears by no

\* Hence the propriety of the Horatian—

“Phœbe qui Xantho lavis amne crines.”

† Condalus, Hyparch of Mausolus, observing that the Lycians took pride in wearing their hair flowing, set forth that letters had arrived from the great King for a supply of hair; (Strabo mentions *hair* among the examples of tribute paid in kind to Persia)—and that he had instructions from Mausolus to shear them. By allowing them to redeem this most obnoxious *poll-tax* by a payment he realized a considerable sum.

‡ Herod.

means to have been a predominance of Persian manners, or even influence; it seems to be a native prince who leads ships of the Lycians in the armament of Xerxes, a few years before the conjectured foundation of the edifice; and they appear not to have contributed to the cavalry of the expedition, the arm that is under the command of the sons of Datis, Armamithres and Tithæus. Quitting now, the details of the edifice, and withdrawing to a distance at which its parts may be regarded in their relative proportions, and the general effect and expression of the whole fairly balanced, I am impressed with the feeling that the spirit and intention of the whole are properly Xanthian, and breathe the sentiment of citizens who, whatever their real ancestry, took pride in the heroism of their predecessors, and would willingly be deemed to represent their race.

In the larger and most conspicuous frieze of the basement, the valour of the Lycians is prominently exhibited, and whatever indication may be given of the final decision of the conflict, the gallantness with which it was contested is forcibly, nay, proudly displayed. The horseman who careers with such spirit over a fallen foe, wears as a helmet the skin of a lion's head, the favourite symbol on the early Lycian coins, and may thus be marked as a native prince.

That the catastrophe of Xanthus should be displayed with equal force on the smaller frieze, is but the antithesis by which due relief can alone, and must necessarily, be given to the beneficent influence of the restoring Gods; the emphatic acknowledgment and celebration of which, is the dominant idea of the artistic and religious whole.

I see, therefore, in the characteristics of the monument,

indications that, at the time of its erection, Xanthus was flourishing, and independent of Persian, Carian, and Greek, and that its princes or predominant class, though probably allied with, or derived from, Carians introduced by Harpagus, and possibly the descendants of Harpagus himself, had still become, in all most important respects, Lycian; naturalized by those influences of which the Lycian tomb of the satrap has furnished us one illustration, and the Homeric representation of the alliance of Lycian princes, of Greek descent, with Hector, rather than with Agamemnon, may supply another.

From premised considerations, I have already concluded, that this time was the period ensuing on the battle of the Eurymedon, (B. C. 470,) and the probability is enhanced by a glimpse furnished by Thucydides, of the state of Lycia at the early part of the Peloponnesian war.\* The operations of Cimon, it seems clear,—treaty or no treaty,—delivered Lycia from direct Persian influence, by making Phaselis for a long time the western limit of the power of the Great King; yet Lycia does not appear among the tributary allies under the hegemony of Athens; and its distinct independence of Caria appears from its successful resistance to the Athenian Melesander, who had the assistance of Carian allies† in a disastrous attempt to lay it under contribution.

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\* Thucyd. ii. 69.

† Id. ii. 9.

### SECTION III.

**W**HAT, then, of the mythology of the Tomb? Apart from the information of Proclus, the divinities of the pediment might have challenged the titles of Zeus and Hèrè, of whom a very similar group may be seen on the frieze of the Parthenon; their Kourotrophic character might, however, have appeared more appropriate to Zeus Hades and Persephone, who in legends and representations of an archaic type, appear merely as Zeus and Hèrè, in the character of rulers of the under-world. Thus, on numerous vases, Hades is represented even with the eagle sceptre of Zeus; and the same representation gives us Persephonè with the supposed characteristic veil and gesture of Hèrè, and the modius-like crown or head-dress of our sculpture. Homer associates Persephone with Zeus Subterraneous,\* and assigns to the pair the same control of the powers of reproduction that the groups before us so evidently symbolize. Thus, even in poetry and plastic art, Hèrè is not always distinguishable from Persephonè, nor Zeus from Hades; and the experience may warn us to be cautious in inferring too positively, by what name the supreme divinities may have been addressed at Xanthus.†

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\* Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος και σπαινὴ Περσεφόνη. Il. ix. 456.

† Compare the associated divinities of Acharaca in Asia—Αχαράκα, ἐν τῷ Πλουταῖον, ἔχον και ἀλσος πολυτελες, και νεων Πλουταῖος τε και Ἡρας. Strabo xiv. 960.

For, far more equivocal than graphic or poetical representations, were the legends of every temple and locality, sometimes holding fast by the early and simple idea which poetry and imagination had long developed and divided into a whole family of divinities, sometimes eagerly combining the attributes and adventures of the latest mythological changes. Hades is not more indistinguishable from Zeus, in the instances just quoted, than is Hephæstus in Lesbian legends. In numerous other legends, Hèrè and Persephone are convertible; the Hèrè wounded by Hercules,\* when he dragged up to light the dog of hell, is obviously a Persephone, according to the more prevalent form of the mythus,—whether earlier or later; and as obviously the Venus of Dodona, “to whom, with Jove,† a temple was there consecrated by the ancients,” has every claim but that first and best, native tradition, to the title of Hèrè.

Proclus himself, it will be observed, while styling this very figure Uranian Aphroditè, and Olympian Goddess, addresses the Goddess as Kour-aphroditè, a title perhaps, equivalent here to Aphroditè-Korè, that is, Venus-Proserpina. This absorption by one divinity of the attributes of another most contrasted, — and even the assumption of its name and adventures, are not peculiar to this instance. The principle meets us at every point, as soon as we step out of the region of poetry and most purely poetical art, into that of history and local custom and tradition. Here, it cannot be too often and too strictly insisted on, that the attempt is futile, to identify representations and divinities

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\* *Iliad*, v. 392.

† *Servius*, *Æneid* iii. 466.

simply by the correspondence of their symbols with those assigned by Homer, Virgil, or Ovid. The most flattering success will be but most grossly fallacious. The poetic Theogony was constructed with prevailing reference to picturesque or poetical effect,—the religious, for the most part, derived from traditions anterior to the poets, was modified in obedience to the laws of the religious sentiment, that constantly blended the attributes that poetry kept most studiously asunder. Mutual reactions no doubt there were, but still the poetic and local systems do not conform, any more than one local system with another. That a statue, therefore, like the seated Goddess of the Harpy Tomb, appears with emblems assigned by poetry to Venus, does not preclude the possibility that its true designation is Proserpine, a point to be settled by parallel instances, and by penetrating to the spirit and purpose of the dedication as a whole. Every page of Pausanias bears testimony to these principles.

So the goddess of the Nereid Monument, considered alone, might challenge the title of Persephoneia (Proserpine); but the question is still open, whether the attributes and symbols of Persephoneia are not in this instance,—other analogies attended to,—appropriated by an Aphrodite (Venus). Parallel instances are promptly forthcoming. At Delphi, offerings for the dead were made to Aphrodite Epitymbia.\* At Argos, she was worshipped with the title Tymborychus.† The death-goddess Libitina at Rome is entitled Aphrodite‡—"one single goddess, says Plutarch,§ presiding over births and deaths."

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\* Plut.

† Clem. Alex.

‡ Dionys. Halicar.

§ Rom. 23.



In this endless flux and fusion of mythic forms, our safest course will be to pursue, in any case, whatever glimpses of local information may be fortunately obtainable, and if any where, certainly beyond the Ægean. It will be early enough to institute an independent analysis when this proves fruitless or fallacious; but I believe the accuracy of Proclus is fully vindicated, by even the slight elucidation of the mythology of Uranian Aphrodite, that our purpose requires and space admits of.

The assertion of Herodotus, that Aphrodite Urania (whose most ancient fane, he says, was at Ascalon in Syria) was called by Assyrians Mylitta, by Arabians Alitta or Alitat, and by Persians Mitra, evinces, at least, the prevalence throughout Asia, of worship of a feminine personification of Nature in very similar forms. These similar forms were, moreover, so peculiar and extraordinary, that it is not easy to pass, by insensible transition, from one to the others, and not be impressed, like him, with the identity of the origin of all. They are found at Babylon,\* in Cyprus,† Phœnicia,‡ Lydia,§ Armenia,||—even westward in Etruria,¶ and intermediately at Corinth.\*\*

But other, as well established branches of the same worship of the Queen of Heaven, are of very different character, developed, as well to the opposite extreme of asceticism (Cybele), and orgiastic or warlike enthusiasm, as in impressive and contemplative forms of solemnity and

\* Herod. 1, 199.

† Herod. and Athen. 12, 516.

‡ Aug. Civ. Dei. 4, 10.

§ Herod. 1.

|| Strab. xv. p. 806, and Clem. Alex. Protrep.

¶ Justin. 18, 5; Plautus Cistell. 2, 3, 20.

\*\* Commentators on Paul Cor.

devotion.\* The Bacchic worship, it will be remembered, presents a very analogous cycle of such strongly contrasted, yet intimately related developments of the religious spirit; a modern illustration may be found in the relation of the Anabaptists and others to the Reformation.

It was to those purer sources that Proclus and his school delighted to refer; and the whole spirit of the monument of Xanthus, directs us to the same, for the illustration of the significance of its modest and graceful symbolism.

From this point of view, Aphrodite is presented to us as "the Nature of every thing Sensible, i. e. the primitive

\* Compare the terms and spirit of the second hymn of Proclus to Aphrodite.

A fine fragment of Sophocles shadows forth this idea.—

Ω παῖδες ἦτοι Κυπρίσιν οὐ Κυπρίσιν μόνον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πολλὰν σφαιμάτων ἐκπαιμὸς,  
 ἐστὶν μὲν Ἄιδης, ἐστὶ δ' ἀφθίτος βίαι,  
 ἐστὶν δὲ λυσσα μαινας, ἐστὶ δ' ἡμέρος  
 ἀκρατος, ἐστ' οἰμῶγμος· ἐν κείνῃ το πᾶν  
 σπικαδαῖον, ἡσυχαιὸν, ἐς βίαν ἀγόν.  
 ἐντινέται γὰρ πνευμονῶν ὅσοις ἐν  
 ψυχῇ, τίς οὐχὶ τῆς δὲ τῆς θεοῦ βόρα;  
 εἰσερχεται μὲν ἰχθυὼν πλωτῶ γένει,  
 ἐπὶ δ' ἐν χερσὶν τετρασκέλει γονή·  
 νομῶ δ' ἐν οἰωνοῖσι ταυκείνης πτεροῖ,  
 ἐν θήρσιν, ἐν βροτοῖσιν, ἐν θεοῖς ἀνῶ,  
 τίς οὐ παλαιούσ' ἐν τρις ἐκβαλλεῖ θεῶν;  
 εἰ μοι θέμις, θέμις δὲ ταλὴρ λέγειν,  
 Δίος τυράννι πνευμονῶν' ἀνευ δόρος,  
 ἀνευ σιδήρου πᾶντα τοῖς συνεμνέται  
 Κυπρίσιν τὰ θνητῶν καὶ θεῶν βουλευμάτων.

Compare with this the fragment of Euripides:—

Τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐκ ὄρας ὅση θεός;  
 ἦν οὐδ' ἂν εἰπας οὐδε μετρησείας ἂν

Substance ; the same that the oracles (τα λογια) call Asteria and Urania.”\*

“Hephæstus is generative fire; the Zoogonic heat of the sun.”†

Proclus‡ says, “the Theologoi, associating Aphrodite with Hephæstus, say that thus he forges the Universe” (χαλκνευει το παν).

“The *muthicoi* sometimes unite Aphrodite to Hephæstus as to the Terrestrial Fire, and sometimes to Ares, the Aerial; for by these, as has been said, whatever is sensible is vivified.”§

ὅση πεφυκε κατ' ὅσον διερχεται.  
αὐτὴ τρεφεῖ σε καμὲ καὶ πάντας βροτούς,  
τεκμηρίον δὲ μὴ λόγῳ μόνον μαθήης,  
ἐργῶν δὲ δεῖξαι τὸ σθένος τοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.  
ἐρᾷ μὲν οὐμβροῦ γαί, ὅταν ξηρὸν πεδὸν  
ἀκαρπὸν αὐχμῶ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἐχῇ·  
ἐρᾷ δ' ὁ σέμενος οὐρανόσ τε πληρουμένους  
οὐμβροῦ πεσεῖν εἰς γαίαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο,  
ὅταν δὲ συμμιχθῇτον εἰς ταύτων δύο  
τικτούσιν ἡμῖν πάντα κ' ἀκτρεφουσ' ἅμα  
ὅθεν βροτεῖον ζῇ τε καὶ θαλλεῖ γένος.

These passages harmonize with the doctrines of the Orphic physico-theological school, of the influence of which at Athens the Hippolytus of Euripides bears witness ;—doctrines, of which no expression may survive earlier than Euripides—but of which the altered traces are visibly discoverable in Homer. Another fragment of Sophocles extends the illustration.

Ἔρως γὰρ ἀνδράς οὐ μόνους ἐπερχεται  
οὐδ' αὖ γυναικάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ἀνὰ  
ψυχὰς χάρασσει καπὶ πόντον ἐρχεται.  
καὶ τὸνδ' ἀπειργαῖν οὐδ' ὁ παγκρατὴς σθένει  
Ζεὺς ἀλλ' ὑπεικὲ καὶ θεῶν ἐγκλίνεται.

\* Joh. Lydus de Menss, ii. 10.

† Id. ib. iv. 54.

‡ Timæus, ii. 101.

§ Joh. Lyd. ib. ii. 7.

“The *phusicoi* attach Aphrodite sometimes to Ares, sometimes to Hephæstus, as the humid principle to the fiery,—intimating that generation proceeds from warmth and moisture.”\* Even in the Iliad Hephæstus appears as a Fire God,† and his relation to marriage in this character is found as distinctly intimated as that of Aphrodite;—“Thou, Vulcan, art torch-bearer in the marriages of mortals.”‡ The worship of Hephæstus (Vulcan) in Lycia appears to have been connected with the natural flame that issued from a mountain near Phaselis,—Mount Chimæra. It is there a Hephæstium is found.§

The mystic spousals, therefore, that according to Proclus our monument represents, between Hephæstus fiery, and Uranian Aphrodite, have a natural significance, analogous to that of the Argive legend of the marriage of Zeus and Hèrè,—the mysterious Theogamia of earth and air.||

The gesture of the Aphrodite of our monument of raising the veil, so common in Greek sculpture, has here a symbolical import that may be illustrated from Müller (Prolegomena).

“The city of Thebes, we find from Euphoriion’s profound legendary researches, was presented by Zeus to Korè, on

\* Id. ib. iv. 27.

† Il. xxi. 73—331 seq.

‡ Ἡφαιστέ, δαδουχέας μὲν ἐν γαμοῖς βροτῶν. Eurip. Troad. 346.

§ Plin. Hist. Nat. ii. 110, v. 28; Sen. Epist. 79; Solin. 39; Ctes. Ind. x.; Scyl. Geog. Min. i. p. 39.

|| Compare Procl. in Tim. v. p. 293, 21. τὴν ἐνοσίην καὶ συμπλοκὴν τῶν δυναμῶν ἀδιαιρέτων . . . . . εἰωθασί ΓΑΜΟΝ οἱ θεολογοὶ προσαγορεύειν—καθ’ ἃ φησὶν ὁ θεολογός. ΠΡΩΤΗΝ γὰρ ΝΥΜΦΗΝ ἀποκαλεῖ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ΠΡΩΤΙΣΤΟΝ ΓΑΜΟΝ τὴν ἐνοσίην αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν κ. τ. λ. See also Dionys. Halic. v. p. 235, ed. Reiske.

the day when she first, in favour of her bridegroom, raised from her countenance the bridal veil.\* Acragas in Sicily, is also called a similar gift on a similar occasion.† The mythus was connected with the festival of the sacred marriage,‡ of which the anakalupteria doubtless formed a part.§ All Sicily was called an unveiling gift.”||

I infer that the unveiling is one of the symbols on our monument of the marriage of Aphrodite, to which Proclus alludes.

Horace, in a *Carmen* (i. 4) which contains at least one other distinct hint of a Greek original, furnishes an illustration of the natural symbolism of the Theogamy of Hephæstus and Aphrodite, by ascribing to spring the renewal, as well of the dances of Venus and the Graces, as of the labours of the frowsy forge of her husband and his assistant Cyclops. An adumbration of the same contrast that is apparent here, I suspect is reflected on our pediment;—the half of it which pertains to Hephæstus is dusky-veined fetid limestone, while his wife’s share, like all the rest of the sculptures, is Parian marble.

Such a difference, in such a position,—the very title and frontispiece of the whole dedication—cannot but be designed, must have a meaning. A symbolical intention seems not unfrequently to have been regarded by the ancients, in the colour of stones selected for the statues of particular divinities. Pausanias observes¶ that river gods

\* Schol. Eurip. *Phœn.* 668,—compare Meineke, frag. 48, p. 144.

† Ancient Schol. *Pind. Ol.* ii. 16.

‡ *Θεογαμία*, Pollux, i. 37.

§ Later Schol. *Olym.* vi. 160.

|| Plutarch, *Timol.* 8; Schol. *Pind. Nem.* i. 16.

¶ *Arcad.* 24, 6.

were generally sculptured of white marble, the Nile alone of black, in allusion to his Æthiopian origin; and Philostratus gives the same reason for the black stone of statues of Memnon. Thus Osiris, as judge of the dead, was painted by the Egyptians of dark colour.\* The symbolical employment of colours by the great Italian painters has often been remarked, as well as their adherence in this respect to traditions of Byzantine origin. On these notions of the ancients we have a witness in Porphyry.

“The Deity, being of the fashion of light, and moving in a circuit of ethereal flame, and being imperceptible to the senses, bound down to the affairs of this mortal life, hath induced the apprehension of his light to the human apprehension, through luminous matter such as crystal, marble, and ivory. Through the medium of gold, he hath given the recognition of his fiery nature and his purity, since gold is pure. Many also have indicated the inscrutable essence of the Deity by black marble; others have typified the gods under the form of men, because the Deity is rational in essence, and as beautiful, because perfect beauty is theirs; also under divers appearances and ages, and in various positions, as seated on a throne or as standing up, as clad in robes, in the form of a youth or of a virgin; all of which representations are symbols of the variety of attributes and conditions of existence belonging to the Divinity. Even the married state was considered typical of the Deity. Thus they assigned every thing of a white colour to the heavenly gods, &c., &c.”†

The child to the left of the Aphrodite of the pediment is

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\* Clem. Alex. Protrep.

† Porphy. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.

apparently a boy—possibly Eros,—Love, who in ancient hymns, ascribed to the Lycian Olen,\* was called son of Eileithuia, a power to whom our Kourotrophic Goddess has far more resemblance than to the Homeric Aphrodite.

The *Muthicoi* and *Theologoi*, whose traditions are quoted by Proclus and Porphyry, are to be referred to the Orphic school, whose influence was common to Asia Minor and Thrace,—and it seems to have been from the operation of sympathy derived from this influence, during some of the early collisions of Europe and Asia, that the tradition arose† that Midas, son of Gordias, initiated into Orphic rites, filled Lydia with religions that as long as he lived, stood him in better stead than arms.‡

The movement they represent, whencesoever derived,—whether in origin Indian, Egyptian, or autochthonous,—appears to have proceeded on the idea of rationalizing the *naïve*, or perhaps gross symbolism, of a simpler people or state of society, and moralizing it in a higher tone or more impressive expressions, by allegorical or mystic interpretations.

Sad havoc was made among these mystic legends, when a school of poets arose, who regarded them simply with an eye to their capabilities as materials for the picturesque, and were only too eager—

\* Paus.

† Arnob. 2, 3.

‡ Evidence, which may be required by some, of the existence of these schools, as well as of their character, may be found in this passage of Plutarch, *apud Euseb.*

Οτι μὲν οὖν ἡ παλαιὰ φυσιολογία καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσι καὶ Βαρβαροῖς, λόγος τῇ φυσικῷ ἐγκυκαλυμμένος μῦθος, τὰ πολλὰ δι' αἰνιγματῶν καὶ ὑπονοίων επικρυφός, καὶ μυστηριώδης θεολογία. . . . . ὁμολογεῖται ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἐπεσὶ καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς καὶ Φρυγίοις λόγοις.

“For poets ever were a gentle kind”—

to employ what remaining respect for their original meaning still clung to them, to heighten the piquancy of a love adventure.

The gay song of Demodocus, takes unscrupulous advantage of the equivocation of the legend, as to the marriage of Aphrodite with Hephæstus or Ares ; the traces are also yet visible, in the net of the outraged god, of the original cosmogonical significance of the symbol,—the combining energies of the elements. A like mischievous consciousness pervades the scene of Hèrè's deception of Zeus on Ida.

Such loose glimpses of symbolism, as these and the cosmical design of the shield of Achilles, have at various times led wits astray, by inducing the belief that the whole Epics were regular allegories, yet to be interpreted by study, as the early geological speculators saw in fossil remains, not the altered fragments of a past state of things, but the rudiments of a future.

The treatment of these *hieroi logoi* in the Homeric poems, evinces that they had then become, at least locally and partially, obsolete, a proof of their remote antiquity ; that they were not entirely so even in the time of Proclus, is proof of their deep hold on the human mind. It was by recurring to their original import, still partly operative and partly recoverable, that a Proclus and a Porphyry struggled to rebut the charges of the Christians, against the profane and indecent stories of the Pagan Olympus.

Below the seat of Hephæstus is a sleeping dog, the relation of which in this instance, as tranquillized by the benignant Fire God, may be explained by a reference to



Homer's description of the baleful fiery influence for wretched mortals, of the dog Sirius.\* For the two dogs which fill the corners of the tympanum, we may again refer to the gold and silver dogs, immortal and ever young, guarding the door of Alcinous, apparently over the architrave,—the work of Hephæstus. (Compare the golden dog guard of the temenos of Zeus, in Crete, said to have been stolen by Pandarus.)

For their relation to Aphrodite, the Scholiast to Lycophron, 449, names “a cave in Thrace in which Zerynthian Aphrodite was honoured;”—“The Zerynthian cave of the dog-slaying Goddess.”† And Zonaras, in *Lex. Zerynthia*, —“Aphrodite and Zerynthion and Zerynthian cave in which dogs are sacrificed.”

\* . . . . 'Αστὴρ', . . . .

“Ὅντι, κύν' Ὡρίωνος ἐπικλησιν καλίουσι,  
 Λαμπρότατος μὲν ὄγ' ἔστι, κακὸν δὲ τε σῆμα τέτυκται  
 Καὶ τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν. II. x. 25.

The Orphic Hymn beseeches Hephæstus, as regent of the natural heat of human bodies, to stay the raging fierceness of Fire,—

Παυσον λυσσῶσαν μανὴν πυρὸς ἀκαματοιο,  
 Καυσὶν ἔχων φύσιν ἐν σωμασιν ἡμετέροισιν.

Mark the Canicular phrase, *λυσσῶσαν μανην*.

Ælian mentions (xi. 3) a temple and grove of Vulcan at Ætna, in Sicily, where the fire-god was worshipped in a most appropriate locality, with perpetual fire and sacred dogs.

Had we the Phædra of Sophocles—a tale of fierce passion and contrasted sobriety,—in its original completeness, we might find commentary on the symbolism of this figure, in the context of the fragment that describes it—

Ἔσαιν' ἐπ' οὐρὰν ὅτα κυλλαίνων κάτω.

† Lyc. 77.

The title of the cave, and the sacrifice of dogs, imply a transference to Aphrodite of the attributes of Hecate (who has a Zerynthian cave at Samothrace), that might well take place in Lycia, of which the customs, we are told, were partly Carian. In Caria, close at hand, the traces of the worship of Hecate are abundant; and the tomb of Cadyanda, already referred to, presents a feast of Hecate, according to the description of Lucian, in which dogs are appropriately introduced.\*

With respect to the pairs of lions, their significance here may be considered specially, as having peculiar appropriateness to the agalma of Hephæstus and Aphrodite, or as generally associated with Greek fanes, to whatever gods. From their position they appear as guards of the sanctuary,—of the two porticos or portals of the cella; the resemblance of the position of the heads lowered between the fore paws, to the lions' heads and paws that protrude from the sides of the coved or arched Lycian tombs, led me to assign them conjecturally, to the place they now occupy, at a time when the most probable theory of restoration would have left no room for them. This agreement

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\* This tomb bears the names of Hecatomnus and Suskos—both pertaining to the royal family of Caria. (Boeckh, *Inscrip. Cariæ*.) The position of the first, near a youthful figure, and the composition of the groups, are illustrated by a passage of Suetonius v. 32, Claudius: "*Adhibebat omni cœnæ et liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur.*"

Claudius perhaps got this ancient custom from his Etruscan studies. Herodotus notices it as peculiar, among all the people he knew, to the Caunians. The nursing group I would refer to the Hère of the Lycian Olen, mother of Ares and Hebe, or Leto—mother of Apollo and Artemis, and nursed by the Hyperborean virgins, servants of Eileithuia Hecate.—Compare Paus. ii. 13, i. 18, 5; Herod. iv. 33; Paus. v. 7, &c.

is a still further extension of the analogy, that is traceable between the models of the tomb before us and the coved tombs. In either instance there is a solid or plain base-ment,—then above, representations of paneled doors, corresponding with the porticos or entrances at opposite ends to the cella,—and still above these, in one instance the Gothic-shaped tympanum, if the phrase is allowable, occupied by the mystic sphinx; in the other, the rectangular pediment with the symbolical dogs in its internal extremities. Turning to the temples of European Greece, we find the same symbols variously adapted, but still to be recognized as adaptations of a common type. The external angles of the pediment of the Panhellenion at Ægina are surmounted (at least in the restorations) by sphinxes; and the same parts in the Parthenon, terminate in the head and mane of a lion (a cast is now in the Museum), that correspond in character with those of the complete figures of the Lycian fane.

Thus the symbolism of these lions, forming a constant member of the general type of a Greek temple or sanctuary, might be waived; yet, whatever may be their general pertinence, they seem here to be specially appropriate. We see the analogy of Hephæstus fiery to the Sun, source of all heat, while Uranian and Thalassian Aphrodite, closely related through Cyprus and Syria to the Syrian Goddess, points to association with the moon. The lion is the universal symbol of the Sun, and a prevailing symbol in these ancient astronomical mythi of the migrations of the soul, that are common to Egyptian, Magian, Orphic, and Dionysiac mysticisms, of which the *theologoumena* just quoted are sprung.

Of the relation of lions to the Uranian Aphrodite and the great nature-goddess of Asia, with whom she blends away, there are abundant illustrations, Asian and European; a selection from this abundance may afford some conclusions of interest.

Plutarch, (in Crasso,) mentions the Syrian Goddess of Hierapolis in words that precisely agree with those of his contemporary Appian (de Bello Parthico). "Some consider her to be Aphrodite and some Here"—(hence the mingled characteristics of the Lycian Goddess)—"some the nature and cause affording to all their commencements and germs out of humidity."\* According to the treatise de Deâ Syriâ, attributed to Lucian, she partook of the character of Athene, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis, and the Moirai.† She was associated with a God who had every resemblance to Zeus. The God was borne by bulls, the Goddess by lions, and generally resembled the Rhea of the Lydians.‡ Turning now to Europe,—

Near Corinth was a grove of cypresses called Craneion, where there was a temenos of Bellerophon, a naos of Aphrodite Melainis and a tomb of Lais, on which was a lioness with a ram in its fore paws. (Paus.) This Lais was said to have been a courtesan captured by Nicias and the Athenians in Sicily, and the action of the lioness to symbolize her ruinous influences on her lovers. Among the numerous

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\* Οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτην οἱ δὲ Ἥραν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα πασὶν ἐξ ὕδατος παρασκευάζουσιν αἰτίαν καὶ φύσιν, νομίζουσιν.

† So at Athens, Paus. i. 14 and 19, Aphrodite Urania was styled eldest of the Moirai.

‡ Λεόντες μὲν φορέουσι, καὶ τυμπανὸν ἔχει, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πυργοφορεῖ ἀκάνην. Πηνυ Λυδοὶ ποιεῖουσι.

slaves sold by that expedition,\* many no doubt increased the multitudes of hierodules of the fane of Aphrodite at Corinth, but the rest of the story is worth no more, than the current explanation of the significance of the Siren on the tomb of Isocrates.

Aphrodite is here, by her title, a death-goddess, as in Thessaly; or like Aphrodite Epitymbia, at Delphi (Plut. Rom. 23), a Chthonian divinity, and to such powers a ram is the constant expiatory offering. So at Cyprus, a sheep wrapped in the fleece, was sacrificed to Aphrodite in Corinthian fashion.†

As to the lioness, I am here reminded of the story of Herodotus, of the lion brought forth by the concubine of King Meles of Lydia, which, by instructions of Lycian Telmessians, he carried round Sardis, to render it impregnable.‡

This must be explained by other Lydian stories. At Sardis was, and is, a vast mound, of which several accounts are given. Herodotus calls it a tomb of Halyattes, father of Cræsus; but Clearchus, in his *Erotica*,§ said that it was made by Gyges, King of Lydia, who was deeply in love, and abandoned to his mistress himself and his realm; and when she died, collected all the Lydians to raise a mound, that should be visible from the whole country, which mound was still called the monument of the *hetaira*.||

\* Thucyd. vi. 62.

† Joh. Lyd. 4, 45.

‡ Compare Jo. Lydus de Mens, p. 42, 96. § Ap. Ath. 573.

|| So Firmicus, de Errore Prof. Relig. 425, Gronov. had heard that the Cyprian Cinyras raised a temple to his concubine, whose name was Venus.

Herodotus himself ascribes the chief part in raising it to the Lydian *hetairai*, a class that would seem to include all their women, from the "custom of the country," in making up a dowry.\*

Now the story of Gyges and the wife of Candaules, is recognized by Engel,† as the analogue of that of Anchises and Aphrodite, and of Gordias, who owes his kingdom to a divine maiden who instructs him in vaticination and marries him. Gordias, Gyges, Cræsus, Midas, all owe sovereignty to Aphrodite or her evident representative.

From these facts and legends it appears, that the chief worship of Sardis, as of Corinth, was that of Aphrodite-hetaira,—the Pandemian Aphrodite, (the same as the Uranian of Babylon and Syria,) in whose services were the damsels whose labours assisted to raise the mound,—who was the true mistress of Gyges, governing him and his realm, chief divinity of the state, and I believe, the same as the concubine of King Meles, the mother of the lion.

Hence I see in the Lais of the Corinthian Kraneion, simply a synonym of the Pandemian Aphrodite, allied to the Lydian; and in her lioness the analogue of that which figures in the story of Meles. The story of the monument of Leaina, at Athens, is liable to the same reduction. (Pliny.)

But the association of Aphrodite and a lion, with the safety of an acropolis or the custody of city walls, and at Sardis too, goes far to identify her as a divinity *poliouchos*, with the turret-crowned Cybele.

Charon of Lampsacus, said that among the Lydians

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\* Herodot. 1. 93.

† Engel, Kypros.

and Phrygians, Aphrodite was called Cybele.\* The head quarters of the Cybele of Phrygia was Pessinus, a seat of one of the hierarchies which Strabo ascribes to the Magians, and thus Cybele, Mylitta, Mitra, Urania run inseparably together. The menacing attitude of the Xanthian lions is precisely that of the lion on the shield of Æneas, son of Aphrodite, on a vase of Volci.† And the coins of Hierapolis, in Syria, represent the Dea Syria, whose relation to Urania is so intimate, seated like Cybele on a throne between two lions.‡

A painting of Pompeii gives a representation of a pillar surmounted by two lions on the summit of Ida, thus in evident relation to the Idæan Mother, and in direct agreement with the pillar discernible on the bas-relief of the walls of Xanthus, surmounted by lions in the same menacing, *cave canem* attitude as the pair we have before us. On the Acrocorinthus, the seat, as we have seen, of so renowned a worship of Aphrodite, Pausanias found a stone *stèle* and *thronos* of the Mother of the Gods. Here again the hymn of Proclus comes in to our assistance, and vindicates our conclusions. His statement that the Lycians styled Aphrodite, in relation to this very monument, the Olympian Goddess, amounts to a recognition of her character here, certainly appropriately enough to the general import of the dedication, as the Mighty Mother.§ Strabo remarks,

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\* Compare in this connection the transformation of Hippomenes and Atalanta into a pair of lions by Cybele, for defiling her sanctuary. Helen (Il. iii. 401) mentions Phrygia and Mæonia as the peculiar realms of Aphrodite.

† Denkmaler Alt. Kunst.

‡ Frölich Tentam. num. p. 256.

§ Compare the Cybele of Apollonius, i. v. 1098.

Εκ γὰρ τῆς ἀνιμῶντι θαλασσοῦ νεῖοι τε χθον,  
Πᾶσα πεπειρηται, νικῶν θ' ἔδος Οὐλυμπίοιο.

among his other interesting observations on the worship of Cybele, that Ida and Olympus were used interchangeably; four summits near Antandria bore the name, besides the Mysian Olympus. In Asia Minor, therefore, the title of "Olympian Goddess" is equivalent to the "Idæan," and the ascription of it may authorize the association of the lions.

Finally, be it remembered that long ago the lions of the gate of the elevated fastness of Mycenæ, were held to bear equal relation to the Magna Mater of Asia, Queen of all heights and citadels, as revered by the Lycian Cyclopean architects, and to the Aphrodite Nikephoros of similar attributes, peculiarly honoured by the royal house of Argos, whose origin was Phrygian. (Pausan.; Creuzer Symbolik.)

In quitting this branch of our subject, I may notice that this explanation of the mound of the Hetaira, gives clear intimation that, as in Corinth so in Asia, the multitudes of hierodules attached to the temples of the great centres alike of religious and commercial intercourse, were sources of great revenue to the priesthoods or the state,\* and at Sardis furnished the means of forming artificially, the mount that was a characteristic feature in the symbolism of the goddess. Thus we are led to divine the real interpretation of the strange stories told to Herodotus in Egypt, of the pyramid built by the Greek courtesan, Rhodopis, from her gains, and of that which was formed of the stones obtained by the daughter of Cheops from her

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\* Compare Strabo, who is explicit on the subject.



several lovers. (Compare the modern sources of revenue of those regions.—Hoskin's *Travels in Ethiopia*.)\*

The Aphrodite of the pediment, a Goddess Kouroutrophic and presiding over marriage (Proclus), appears with precisely the same character and attributes that are assigned to her in Homer's Lycian legend,† in which she fosters the daughters of Pandarus with curds, honey, and wine—(emblems that, with unguents and precious perfumes, are peculiarly ascribed to the Goddess of the most precious influences of the principle of humidity)—and undertakes their settlement in marriage.

The Carian architecture of the agalma, however, directs

\* The state of things which is thus evolved, I suspect furnishes the key by which several legends of the early intercourse of Greece and Egypt may be brought back to historical form. This state implies a lucrative slave-trade, of the same nature that supplied the train of Aphrodite at Corinth, and when we compare the settlement of Phœnicians of Tyre in Egypt, (Herod.), in connection with a fane of the Foreign Aphrodite, with the stories of Persians as well as of the Phœnicians themselves, of the manner in which it occurred that they carried off Io (a personification of the same class as "the daughter of Tyre," "the daughter of Jerusalem,") from Argos to Egypt, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that a considerable portion of the return for the cargoes of Assyrian and Egyptian merchandise that are spoken of (Herod. i. 1) was in fact made in female slaves from Peloponnesus. These views are in precise accordance with the traditions of a great reaction in Egypt which led to the extensive expulsion of foreigners and foreign religions,—among others of Danaus and his fifty daughters. (Compare *Æschylus—Prometheus and Supplices*, and *Diod. Sic. frag.*)

The chief difficulties in admitting the Egyptian colonization of Greece, vanish when we recognize the colonists as of pure or mixed Greek blood and origin. Some curious historical illustrations of this point appear incidentally in a paper on "the traces of Mesmerism in the Classics," recently published in the *Zoist*, Nos. x. and xi.

† *Odyss.* xx. 61.

us westward for the more immediate derivation of its presiding Goddess—for her proximate type as Uranian and Olympian.

The name of Candaules, given by Herodotus, as a prince of Caria, intimates the extension in this direction of Phrygian characteristics and the worship of Cybele, while at Cnidus, a chief seat of Aphrodite, with which we shall see reason to connect conjecturally, the Carians of Xanthus, the Goddess appears on coins with the attributes of Cybele, the Aphrodite of Asia Minor.\*

But Cnidus was settled from Laconia, which has already furnished us some mythological illustration, and there again we find Aphrodite corresponding in title, attributes, and association with the so Junolike Goddess of our *agalma*. She appears sharing the title Olympian with Zeus,† and as Aphrodite-Hèrè,‡ to whom mothers sacrificed on the marriage of daughters. Plotinus referred to priests and theologers as confirming the identification of Here and Aphrodite, and as calling the planet (Aphrodite) Venus, (Here) Juno. The latter instance is also noticed by Timæus, *de Animâ Mundi*.

The Hèrè of the vast and ancient fane of Samos is traceable almost as distinctly as the Artemis of Ephesus—the Great Goddess, by native legends and peculiarities of rites and symbols, to a barbaric and oriental origin; in either of these seats of early worship the characteristics were re-

\* Eckhel. 3, nr. 219—6, nr. 228—3, § 339—nr. 202 to 213—Supp. 6. § 480—nr. 213 to 225. A female head with turret crown, + lion's head.—Aphrodite, + lion's head.

† Paus. iii. 12, 9.

‡ Lib. iii. 13, 7.

tained that, notwithstanding Hellenic titles and modifications superinduced by colonists from the west, united them in historical derivation with the Nature-Goddess of the East,—Mylitta or Cybele.

There has already been occasion to notice the affection of Carian princes for names compounded of divine titles, as Artemisia and Hecatomnus; the name of Ada appears now to furnish another example,—it is given by Hesychius as the title of the Babylonian Here,—i. e., the Mylitta, whom Herodotus identifies with Aphrodite. (Compare also Buttmann, *Mythologus*, on Ada and Zillah.)

The course of bas-reliefs that enriches the cella, represents funeral feasts and sacrifices,—the victims being chiefly goats or kids. In the great temple of Aphrodite, at Paphos, the most esteemed auguries were obtained from the entrails of goats, a mode of divination said to have been introduced into Cyprus from the neighbouring continent—from Cilicia.\* The goats of Lycia were a peculiar long-haired breed,† and goatskins form a portion of the costume of the Lycians in the army of Xerxes.‡

(I may add that the absence of Persian costume among the celebrators of the funeral feast, is another point controverting the idea of the building as a Heroön of the Harpagi.)

In considering the appropriateness and significance of the Nereids to the subject of the dedication, reference may be made to the views by which Buonaroti accounted for their frequent occurrence on sarcophagi, views adopted

\* Tacitus.

† Ælian de Anim.

‡ Herod.

by Visconti.\* But, that the Nereids were conceived in antiquity as conducting to the Isle of the Blest the souls of the heroic and the just, is not apparent from the passages referred to. Pindar's "Ocean airs that breathe around the happy seats" (*ὠκεανίδες αὔραι*) are not strictly Nereids; and it is not as a Nereid specifically that Thetis bears thither Achilles, but as his mother — "having persuaded by supplications the heart of Zeus."† A better hint is the allusion to the cosmical philosophy of Thales, relegated by Visconti to a note.

We must rather look to the relation of the sea-nymphs to the presiding divinity of the pediment. Aphrodite, as daughter of the sea, or of Tethys, "mother of Cypris and all water-nymphs," (Orphic Hymn,) is herself a Nereid, and associated with them. The sumptuous dedication of Herodes Atticus, in the temple of Isthmian Poseidon (Paus.), consisted of a group of Poseidon and Amphitrite in a chariot, and, among numerous accompanying figures, Thalassa (the sea), with the infant Aphrodite and Nereids on either side. A Corinthian coin gives her car, drawn by a Triton and a Nereid, and the Orphic Hymn already quoted, p. 40, represents her as dancing with the sea-nymphs on the sands.

The Nereids, as water-nymphs, are apparently the subordinate divinities, as Thalassian Aphrodite is the

\* Museo. Pro. Clem. iv. 243.

† Pind. Olymp. ii. 128, seq. It is, however, "with the chorus of fifty Nereids" that Thetis (Eurip. *Andromache* v. 1265) promises to meet Peleus at the Sepian cave, to conduct him, thenceforth an immortal, to the Ocean palace of her father Nereus.

supreme, of germinating and reproducing Nature. The daughters of the "barren sea" appear, in ancient mythology, no more excluded from such attributes than Aphrodite sea-born, who was peculiarly a goddess of marriage at Trœzene, precisely where she appears as Pontian and Limenian.\*

The nymphs called Naiades, were the generally recognized presiding powers of all forms of moisture, the universal instrument of growth and increase; they were particularly addressed by the marrying and newly married, who also practised ablutions in founts, streams, or perpetual springs, from the notion that humidity was the cause and condition of fruitfulness.† And from these fresh-water goddesses, their sisters of the sea are not very strictly separated; the Nereids are equally Nymphs, (Orp. Hymn,) and to them, in this character, is assigned that intimate relation to the Bacchic and Cereal mysteries, that more frequently comes before us in connection with the goddesses of the streams and meadows.‡ "On you I call to send happiness to the initiates, for you first taught the solemn mysteries of sacred Bacchus and pure Proserpine."

To these associated divinities—Aphrodite and the Nereids—I cannot but believe that the two cisterns found by Sir

\* Paus. Cor. So Proclus—*ἡ θαλασσα γενεσιως εικων*; and it is to the realm of Poseidon that he assigns the *genesurgic* Sirens. To the same effect is the mystic significance of the marriage of Peleus and the Nereid Thetis.

† Porphyry de Ant. Nymph.

‡ *Τμας κκληστω πεμπειν μυσταις πολυι ολβον,  
'Τμεις γαρ πρωται τελετην ανεδειξατε σεμνην,  
Ευιερου Βανχοιο και αγτης Περσεφονειας.*

Hym. Nereid. v. 9.

Charles Fellows, one square, one circular, before the fronts of the building, were not without relation.

They carry me at once to Homer's cave of the nymphs, called Naiades, and its perennial spring, and to the four streams flowing different ways from the fount before the cave of Calypso, daughter of Ocean (Hesiod) or Atlas,\* with the sagacious comments of Porphyry. Fountains, and water purifications, are as constantly found associated with Aphrodite. By the little temple of Aphrodite, on Acrocorinthus, was the celebrated fount Peirene, without any outlet, always full of bright fresh water. There was a sacred fountain within the temple of Ino and Paphia, (=Venus) at Thalamæ.†

A Cyprian fane of Aphrodite is described by Claudian, —the work of Hephestus,—by which were two fountains, one sweet, one bitter. In the poem, the bitter fount appears to symbolize the vexations of lovers; but I suspect that, in fact, the sweet and brackish founts had reference to the general relation of all waters, to the daughter of the sea. Pausanias parallels the well of sea water of Poseidon, on the Athenian acropolis, with another at Aphrodisias in Caria.

According to Servius, at the ancient fane of Jove and Venus, at Dodona, oracles were derived from the murmurs of an inspired fountain. Athenæus, Pausanias,‡ and Pliny,§ give some curious examples of water divination in Lycia; and from the connection of the Nereids with vaticination generally, of which we shall see more pre-

\* According to Apollodorus (i. 2) a Nereid.

† Paus. iii. 26.

‡ Paus. viii. 21, 6.

§ Plin. xxxii. 2.

sently, I risk the conjecture that we have here the very "fountain by Xanthus, the city of the Lycians," that, according to Plutarch, threw up a bronze tablet, with an inscription in ancient letters, predicting the success of the enterprise of Alexander. (The story, it may be noticed, intimates some Xanthian sympathy with his enterprise, that is confirmed by the circumstance that his guides eastward were Lycian.)

Instances of the relation of Nereids to nuptial symbolism are not rare; the fane of the Nereids at Cardamyle, in Laconia, was said to commemorate the presence there of the goddesses who quitted the waves to be present at the marriage of Pyrrhus and Hermione.\* Poseidon, who gave Pelops his victorious horses, assembled the Nereids to celebrate his marriage with the prize, Hippodameia.†

Thus the Oceanides celebrated the marriage of Prometheus.‡

"All sad and slow I pour the moral strain,  
Changed from that melting vein,  
When the light mellifluous measure  
Round thy bath and round thy bed

\* Paus. iii. 38. What lover of Shakspeare does not remember the evocation of "the nymphs called Naiades?"—a literal translation of Homer's words (*Νυμφαὶν αἱ Νηϊάδες καλεῖσθαι*, Od. xiii. 104),—to join in graceful dance, and "help to celebrate the contract of true love" of Ferdinand and Miranda.

† Himerius, Or. i. 6.

‡ Το διαμφιδιον δε μοι μελος προσεπτα  
Τοδ', ἐκεῖνοδ' ο, τ' ἀμφι λωετρα τε καὶ λεχος  
Σον υμεναιου ιστητι γαμων,  
Οτε την ομοπατριον  
Εδνοις ηγαγες Ἥσιονην  
Πιθων δαμαρτα κοινολεκτρον.

Prom. Vinc. 556.

For our sister sea-nymph spread  
Awoke young love and bridal pleasure,  
And poured the soul of harmony  
To greet the bright Hesione."

Potter, Æsch.

And thus her sisters, the marriage of Thetis,\* "Winding in circles by the clear white beach, the fifty daughters of Nereus chorused her nuptials." Later, a Nereid dance is mentioned, at the marriage of Caranus, in Macedonia, (Athenæus iv. p. 130) — and the last Latin poet worth quoting repeats the allusion.† "The Nereids also went, the rumour heard, borne on various creatures, and vie in heaping new presents on the nuptials. They encircled Venus with a naked band."

Elsewhere again:‡ "And the Nereids who, following the

\* Παρα δὲ λευκοφαῖ  
Ψαμαθὸν εἰλισσόμεναι  
Κυκλα, πεντήκοντα κόραι  
Νηρηος, γαμοὺς εἰχορεύσαν.

Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 1054.

† "Necnon et variis vectæ Nereides ibant,  
Audito rumore, feris . . . . .  
Certatimque novis onerant connubia donis,  
. . . . nudâ Venerem cinxere catenâ."

Claudian de Nupt. H. & M. 159.

‡ "Quæque relabentes undas æstumque secutæ,  
In refluos venêre palam Nereides amnes,  
Confessæ plausu dominam, cecinere futuris  
Auspicium thalamis."

Id. Laus Serenæ, 79.

The last lines will remind of Prospero's invocation of the elves,

. . . . "that on the sands with printless foot,  
Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him  
When he comes back,"—



returning waters and tide, came openly into the reflux rivers, hailing their mistress with acclaim, sang happy omen on the coming wedlock."

I have already noticed that the chorus of Nereids, as described by Apollonius, appears to have formed a fixed association,—an established symbol. He also compares them to nymphs playing at ball on the sands, a group which reminds us of the charming scene of Nausicaa and her maidens. Others have already recognized in this the traces and vestiges of earlier mystic symbolism,—the variegated *σφαῖρη* of the mysteries,—as contrasted with, and modified by, poetical. Another such vestige may now be observed in the reference of the washing excursion of Nausicaa, to her—therefore immediately ensuing, marriage. But as there is no farther notice of this circumstance; as it is even inconsistent with the reflections of the maiden, on the occasion of the impression made on her by Ulysses,—the hope that her future husband may resemble him; we may infer that its introduction is due to its connection with the idea, as with a pre-existing type, of sporting water-nymphs, the preparers and celebrators of fruitful nuptials.

Thus the littoral chorus of the Nereids, as celebrated by poets and represented by the statues of our monument, appears to have been the precise type and expression, in

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as strikingly as the Orphic Nereid Aphrodite, "a Thyad bounding lightly among the nymphs on the sandy shore" (p. 40), of Shakspeare's Venus—

"Or like a nymph with wild dishevelled hair  
Dance on the sands and yet no footing seen."

Ven. and Ad.

“the symbolical language of the Ancients,” of those nuptial promises and rewards,—of the eternal principle of populousness and prosperity, the acknowledgment of which was the purpose of the entire dedication; according to Proclus, and to that view of its origin and character, which it is hoped these pages have now made some progress in developing.

And yet it must be seen and admitted, that in the earlier instances quoted of the celebration of nuptials by Nereid dances, an appropriateness occurs, local, national, or genealogical, in the relationship of the Oceanides to the Titan Prometheus, of the Nereids to their sister Thetis and to her grandson Pyrrhus,—an appropriateness seldom absent in the public symbolism of the Greeks, but of which we have at present observed no parallel in the case of the Lycian dedication. Geographical position and historical legend give sufficient local and national explanation of the selection of the presiding Goddess, but whence came the Nereids?

However distinct may be the relation of Aphrodite to the Nereids in general mythology, it has hardly appeared within the particular walks with which we are specially concerned. Aphrodite Here and Aphrodite Cybele, of Laconian and Carian Cnidus, and Kour-Aphrodite, the chief protectress of the daughters of Lycian Pandarus, does not come before us in a character so distinctly marine, as to account sufficiently for the conspicuous and characteristic positions, occupied by the Nereids on her agalma. The Goddess of the pediment appears [with none of those accompaniments that become the daughter of the sea, the Cnidian Anadyomene, nor am I aware of any definite con-

cern of the Nereids in the peculiar Aphrodisian legends of Caria. Thus, while their symbolical appropriateness harmonizes perfectly, with that of the Kourotrophic Goddess and the general intention of the monument, no local or national propriety, such as is indispensable for a complete analysis, has yet been developed.

To remedy the defect may not be hopeless, but the attempt involves a recommencement of our inquiries, in a direction and to a distance in the remote history of Lycia, to which some may consider the object of research, hardly sufficient inducement to venture. However, the ranks of my readers, are probably by this time already thinned of those who would think this inquiry to be "to consider too curiously," and therefore without apology, and whether accompanied or alone,—Eastward hoe! Still, it may as well be admitted at once, that the real object of this new *excursus*, is far less the theoretical finish of the analysis, (that may not lie very far off,) than the illustrations of Greek and Lycian antiquity, likely to be developed in the course of the inquiry.

## SECTION IV.

**L**ET us now begin from Homer.

Homer presents us with two sets of Lycian allies of Troy, under different leaders, from different countries.

Sarpedon and Glaucus lead Lycians "from afar out of Lycia by the gulfy Xanthus," but other Lycians, Trojan Lycians,—they are called simply Trojans in the catalogue,—come from the north of the Troad, from Zeleia and the banks of Æsepus, which flows from Mount Ida into the Propontis.\* These latter are led by Pandarus, son of Lycaon, who is never brought by the poet into communication or connection with the leaders of the Lycians proper, and whose character of truce-breaker is strikingly at variance with that ascribed to the descendants of Bellerophon.†

That the two races, however, are to be considered related, is clear from the agreement of their name, and that of Pandarus, which figures in the legends of the Cretan

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\* *Iliad* ii. 824. Pliny, v. 32. Strabo.

† On the Propontis is mentioned a Lycus, at whose court the Argonauts were kindly received; and the legends connected with him, intimate a closer reference to Lycia proper than is the case with numerous other personages of the same name. Hercules made him king of this part of Mysia; he was brother of Chimæreus and son of Prometheus, or brother of Eurypylus and son of Poseidon, and according to either account his mother was Celæno, which is the name of a Harpy, though here she appears as a Pleiad.

colony very extensively, as thief of the dog of Zeus, and father of the devoted maidens; and the worship of a Pandarus is mentioned at Pinara.

The archery of Pandarus and his prayer to the Bowyer God, are other traces of relationship to the Southern Lycia, where the worship of Apollo became so renowned. However, this characteristic is not more Lycian than Trojan—a point that may lead to the explanation of the offset or colony.

The coast of Asia Minor, as Strabo remarks, was studded with fanes of Apollo with various titles (among others he notices that of Chrysa, mentioned by Homer). Apollo is the great defender of Troy,—their chief Olympian ally; the river Xanthus is his of right, and the Panthoidæ are his hereditary priests; and in his speech to Hector he declares himself occupant of the citadel, and assumes the title Chrysaor\*—of the Golden Sword, which is associated with the centre of a league of Carian cities.† Other traces of the relation of Lycia and Troy, are to be found in the names of Lycian towns, as well as in parallelisms of mythology of the most striking kind. The alliance at the Trojan war argues as much, and supports the probability of previous co-operation. To attempt to disentangle the meshes of migrating populations in Asia, is hopeless; but it may be worth notice, that anterior to the war of Troy, occurred the great expedition of Mysians and Teucrians,—Teucrians whom one legend derives, like the Lycians, from Crete; they passed over into Europe, conquered the

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\* Φοῖβον Ἀπέλλαντα χρυσάορον . . . .

Iliad xv. 256.

† Strabo, iv.

whole of Thessaly to the Peneus, and penetrated even to the Ionian sea.\*

The Pæonians of Thrace long after, ascribed their origin to settlers who had formed part of this expedition;† and Pæonians accordingly are among the allies of the Trojans in the Iliad; and the tradition of their origin is farther supported by the medical import of their leaders' names, Pæon, Akessamenos, which, according to Müller, intimate a reference to the Apollo of Lycia and Troy,—Apollo who is appealed to by Glaucus to stanch his wound, and commissioned by Zeus to restore the battered Hector.

We have only to suppose that a branch of the Lycian race, took part in this (or other such) expedition, and the origin of the colony is accounted for, as well as our meeting with a nation or tribe of Xanthians, and a Sarpedonian rock ‡ and mythical Sarpedon in Thrace.§

Now Herodotus has a notice that in one instance Sardis was captured by Treres and Lycians. The Treres, according to Strabo, were a Cimmerian race, but like Herodotus, he distinguishes their invasion from an earlier Cimmerian inbreak. He says that their power continued a considerable time, and that they entirely subverted the Magnesians; and with this period I would connect some hints of the settlement in Asia of Lycians from Thrace.

In an inscription at Aphrodisias|| we find a Bouleutès of Apollonian-Lycian-Thracians. Boeckh ¶ refers to Eck-

\* Herod. vii. 20.

† Herod. v. 13.

‡ Herod. vii. 28.

§ A son of Poseidon, slain by Hercules. Apollod. ii. 5.

|| Fellows's Lycia, 310, &c.

¶ Vol. ii. p. 1114.

hel,\* who gives coins bearing "Apollonia Ly." which justifies the association of the names with the single city of Apollonia; and accordingly he applies the same rule to some other inscriptions,† and thence infers that Apollonia of Pisidian Phrygia was founded by Lycian and Thracian settlers. From the foregoing combinations, I suspect that in all these cases one race only is referred to, Lycian Thracians, or Lycians from Thrace.

With respect to the Lycians from the Xanthus, the Greek names, Lycia, Xanthus, and Glaucus, and the genealogy of the heroes, indicate Greek characteristics, but hardly more definite than are found in connection with the Trojans themselves; and they are derived in the poem from a period of remote tradition in the story of Bellerophon, while a barbaric colour is given to the nation by such names as Maris, Amisodarus, Atymnius. A peculiarity of costume is once mentioned in connection with the companions of Sarpedon; they are called *amitrochitones*, wearing chitons unarmed with metal,‡ which perhaps may still be seen in the *blouses* of the combatants on the Satrap's Tomb. The accoutrements of the Lycians in the armament of Xerxes, are also barbarous.

The character of the Homeric Lycians is particularly honourable, and contrasts with that of the Trojans;—it is really distinguished by a gentle chivalry. Gibbon § con-

\* Vol. iii. 2.

† 3969, 3970 (Απολλωνιατῶν Λυκιῶν Θρακῶν Κολωνῶν).

‡ According to Athenæus, p. 523, ἀμιτροχιτῶνας=αζωστους; the *μιτρη*, however, apparently a kind of sash and partially metallic, was distinct from the ζωστήρ. Iliad iv. 189; and Schol. ibid.

§ Miscellan. Works.

sidered Sarpedon the most amiable of the many amiable heroes of the Iliad; and since my attention to the marbles, I have resigned my former favourite Patroclus to agree with him. The generous reflectiveness of the speech of Sarpedon to Glaucus \* has ever been admired, and is characteristic by the correspondence of its tone with that of Glaucus to Diomed, and the moderation ascribed, not undeservedly, to Lycian character in later history. Add to these Sarpedon's dignified reproof of Hector, met only by expressive silence,† his reference of the fall of Laomedon to the injustice of his courses,‡ and finally, the much canvassed exchange of armour proposed by Diomed as a pledge of friendship, and assented to by Glaucus in all unsuspecting frankness and warm-heartedness. The fullest relief is given to this, not by the sacrifice of Diomed, whose conduct is left at least ambiguous, but by the shabby observation of the poet, probably volunteered for that end, that Zeus took away the senses of Glaucus,§ and

“ Made him in blind exchange his arms resign,  
His gold for brass, a hundred beeves for nine.”||

\* Iliad xii. 292. Compare Cretan character in the parallel conversation between Idomeneus and Meriones in the next Book.

† Iliad v. 471.

‡ Γληπόλεμ', ἦτοι κείνος ἀπώλεσεν Ἴλιον ἱρήν,  
'Ανέρος ἀφραδίστην ἀγαυοῦ Λαομέδοντος,  
"Ος ῥά μιν εὖ ἔρξαντα κακῶ ἠνίπαπε μύθω,  
Οὐδ' ἀπέδωχ' ἱππους ὅν εἴνεκα τηλόθεν ἦλθε.

Iliad v. 648.

§ "Ενθ' αὖτε Γλαύκῳ Κρονίδης φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς.

Iliad vi. 234.

|| Shakspeare employs the same artifice (of heightening relief by continuing the picture on the frame) in the Chorus of Henry V. who is os-



But the speech of Sarpedon has other points of interest in the view it presents of the position of Lycian princes. Characteristics of kingly power, similar in several respects, may be found ascribed to other Homeric rulers, but in no other case is the picture so elaborate and complete. He addresses Glaucus as in every respect of equal dignity with himself; notices the distinguished, almost divine honours accorded to them, and their ample revenue, which is still derived from popular grant,—just as when Bellerophon is associated by the Lycian king, it is the people (*demus*) who assign him a *temenos*, vinegrowing and arable.

But,—the speech proceeds,—the Lycian prince is expected to justify his honours by warlike prowess; he fights, it is almost implied, under the eyes of constituents: for the observation, that if they distinguish themselves, Lycians will exclaim, “Who can grudge them their honours!” implies, not ambiguously, that if they do not, the exclamation may be of a very different purport—an acknowledgment of amenability to public opinion that would strike at once by the force of contrast, if it came from the

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tensibly the mouthpiece of the poet, but in fact is employed to heighten effects that his general design required to be very much qualified and subdued. That Homer intended to represent Glaucus as a simple dupe, is as credible as that Shakspeare in his proper person would have regarded as possible a

. . . “Mayor and aldermen  
Like to the senators of antique Rome,”—

Shakspeare, whose most mortal part is, not as Schlegel considers, his nationality, but a nervous aversion to constables and magistrates, whether in Rome, Messina, Gloucestershire, London, or Warwickshire; very suspicious under all the circumstances.

mouth of an ally of Agamemnon. Sarpedon is elsewhere spoken of by Glaucus as swaying Lycia "by his judgments as well as his strength ;"\* and in the words of Tlepolemus, so peculiar for a challenge,

"Sarpedon, councillor of the Lycians, unskilled in fight," &c.†

we might almost be disposed to recognize a sneer at the civil functions of a responsible officer,—an observation I find noted before I was aware of the record of the Lycian league and elective Lyciarchs.‡

Nor would the allusion be antedated ; the origin of the Lycian league, in whatever form, is most probably assigned to the period of earliest Greek influence ; it is quite in unison with the oldest amphictyonies of Attica and Bœotia.

That the original introduction of Greek influence among the Lycians, dates long anterior to the Ionian colonies and the Homeric poems, will be made apparent in the sequel, and is not least strongly evidenced by some of the monuments that are far from the most ancient of the Lycian collection. The Greek details and associations they display, are precisely those which Homer localizes in Lycia, yet evidently not derived from Homer, but true representatives of the materials of the poet *in situ*, unaffected by the changes and elaborations to which they were subjected in the course of their transference to the Epos.

The agreement of the Cyclopean remains with those of

\* "Ὅς Λυκίων εἰρὺτο δίκης τε καὶ σθένει ὤ.

Iliad xvi. 542.

† Σαρπηδῶν, Λυκίων βουλευφόρε, τίς τοι ἀνάγκη  
Πτώσσειν ἐνθάδ' ἔοντι μάχης ἀδαήμονι φωτί.

‡ Strabo.

Europe, evinces a common stock, and early intercourse is strongly confirmed by those enduring records, the names of rivers, mountains, towns. The frequent termination *assos* speaks of dwellers akin to those who conferred their names on the Parnassus, Teumessos, &c. of Bœotia, and the name Arne, which is assigned in early times to Xanthus, is Bœotian and Thessalian, and rife in legends of the Æolian race as far westward as Italy, in Umbria, and Tuscany.

The Homeric genealogy of Sarpedon and Glaucus, leads up to Sisypheus, thence to Æolus, and we might fix upon the Glaucus of Corinth, father of Bellerophon, the common ancestor of both the heroes, as the recognized head of the royal race of Glaucidæ, but that Herodotus derives it from Hippolochus, father of Glaucus, and thus excludes Sarpedon. This is the more noteworthy from its agreement with other hints of the separate relations of Sarpedon.

Not only is a Sarpedonian Artemis met with close at hand in Cilicia,\* but also a Sarpedonian Apollo,† and when it is remembered that the chief fane of Xanthus, the city that was named after and devoted to Apollo, was entitled the Sarpedoneion,‡ the Homeric hero becomes recognizable as directly derived from the Lycian God. Such a reduction of the local form of a divinity to the hero of the locality, is quite within the rule of the changes wrought by Homeric poetry on the earlier religious mythi—(Compare Helen, Briseis, Diomedes; and Müller's Prolegomena on Odysseus-Apollo;) it is confirmed here by a circumstance that might be supposed to invalidate it; the

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\* Strabo.

† Zosimus, i. 57.

‡ Appian.

death of Sarpedon, and the transport of his body to Lycia by Sleep and Death, correspond strikingly with the archaic legend of the death of Apollo, his peculiar obsequies and sepulture at Patara.\* (Compare with this Porphyry's notice of the Pythagorean inscription and epitaph on the tripod at Delphi, in which was said to be buried Apollo—slain by Python.)

Welcker believed he discerned in the name, S—arpedon, a reference to the snatching away of his body from the conflict, by Apollo ; but admitting the root, it seems now preferable to explain it by reference to Apollo-Harpagus-Mithra.†

In the interval between the Trojan war and the Ionian migration the history of Lycia is a blank. Glimmering notices occur of contests with Greeks of the expedition, who settled in Asia,—of the siege and reduction of Telmessus by one Lycian king Pericles, and the perplexities of another, Amphiaras, between the soothsayers Calchas and Mopsus, —events, personages, dates, or fables of widest uncertainty.‡

But in the notice furnished by Herodotus of the Ionian migration, occurs the remarkable statement, that some of the colonists established as kings Codrids, descendants of Melanthus ; and some others Lycians, descendants of Glaucus, son of Hippolochus, and some both.§ A fact, this, to be explained by a glance at the composition of the migration and its dominant ideas.

\* “Apollinem postquam a Jove ictus et interfectus est, a vespillonibus ad sepulchrum elatum esse.” Mnaseas of Patara, ap. Fulgent.

† Vide Appendix, Harpagus the Mede.

‡ Theopompus, frag. iii., Conon Narrat. vi.

§ Herodot. i. 147.

It started from Athens, and its main body was formed of descendants of Ionian refugees expelled from Peloponnesus, by the invasion of the Dorians. In conjunction, more or less intimate, with these, went a very various multitude, the superabundant population of other states—Pyliaus, Messenians, Arcadians, Phocæans, Abantes from Eubœa, Minyans of Orchomenos, Molossians.\*

As in so many other instances,† the Delphic oracle is concerned in the events that decide and direct the colony.

The chief leaders were sons of Codrus, descendants of Melanthus, who, driven from Messene by the Dorians, came to Athens, and slaying an invader, Xanthus, of Bœotia, superseded, as king of Athens, Thumcætes, who had declined the combat.‡ With this revolution (whatever its real nature) legend connected the origin of the festival of Apaturia,—a connection which explains the assertion of Herodotus, that participation in the Ionian festival of Apaturia, was proof of derivation from the Ionian migration. It was the peculiar religious celebration of the Heroic race who led the migration, and thus we find here one of the numerous examples of the hereditary administration of sacred offices, as the foundation—at least chief attribute, of the influence of an Heroic race of kings.

Of this the earlier history of Melanthus gives farther illustration; his return to Athens and his relation to a festival of “the Great Goddesses,” agree with the account that he was a descendant of Caucon, son of Celænus, who

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\* Pausanias, Strabo, Herodotus.

† Callim. ad Apoll. v. 56. Cicero de Divin. i.

‡ Pausan. ii. 18.

carried the mysteries of the Great Goddesses from Athens to Pylos.\* These mysteries, it is said, were there altered and developed by Lycus, son of Pandion, flying from his brother Ægeus,† and as in another legend this same Lycus, son of Pandion, flies from his brother Ægeus to Lycia,‡ we have a tradition of a common worship and Heroic race connecting Athens, Pylos, and Lycia, which agrees with the story of the Ionian migration, and the analogies of the mythology of the Harpy Tomb.

The significance of the names in the instance of the interference of Lycus in modifying the institutions of Celænus, intimates an opposition that recurs in the combat, so mythically related, of Melanthus and Xanthus.

Even down to the time of Strabo, an example of the strong hold of the principle of Heroic veneration,—the Melanthids retained a certain authority and dignity at Ephesus.

Thus it was that Messenian settlers joined the Ionian colony led forth by their royal race. To the influence of the same principle is ascribed the association of Minyans of Orchomenos: they were related, it is said, to the Codridæ, apparently through Chloris, mother of Nestor. See Müller on early intercourse between Orchomenos and Triphylia. The Pyliaus who joined “from some relationship”§ are in the same way, led by Neleus and Neleidæ.

Here there was an additional tie of common worship. The worship of Poseidon, which was very prevalent in Peloponnesus, but especially on the western coast, was a

\* Pausanias.

† Herodot.

‡ Pausan. iv. 1, 4.

§ Strabo.

chief worship of the Ionians from Ægialia and Helice; (Heliconian Poseidon is mentioned by Homer,) and the colonists established a common fane of Heliconian Poseidon, at Mycale, in Asia—the Panionian. Sympathy at this point, probably, brought in the Epidaurian colonists from the neighbourhood of the renowned Poseideion of Trœzene.

Neleus founded Miletus, and his βασις was seen there near the Poseideion. For the attachment of his race to Poseidon we must refer to Homer, and the illustration of his evidence by Müller. The earlier Neleus was son of Poseidon, and traces of the consequent attachment appear in the solemn sacrifice of Nestor to Poseidon, on the shore of Pylos, where afterwards is found the great fane Samicon; in the protection of Antilochus, by the god, from the thick-flying weapons in the fight of Troy; and on Periclymenus, son of Nestor, Poseidon confers the peculiar gift of transformation, of which we shall hear more.

The worships of the Great Goddesses and of Poseidon, and veneration for the Heroic races connected with them, were thus leading ideas, connecting sympathies in the Ionian migration. The association of the worships had taken place long before in Peloponnesus, where legends most diversified, record in their own way,—and sometimes it is whimsical enough,—the contests and compromises of Poseidon and Demeter.

But what is all this to the adoption, by Ionian settlers, of Lycian Glaucidæ as kings,—sole or as colleagues of Codridæ? It is certainly time to inquire.

In the first place, there is some appearance of a Lycian population having branched out in this direction. The migration from Lycia to Lesbos is far too early to enter

into account here;\* but Lycians are distinctly noticed as forming part of the mixed population of Erythræ, with Cretans, Carians, Pamphylians, to which, by an arrangement, the new Ionian colonists acceded.†

But the characteristics we have had occasion to observe, direct us more particularly, to inquire for a connection, in common worship of the Great Goddesses or Poseidon, presided over by a related heroic race.

We may here avail ourselves of the conclusions of Müller and others, who have pointed out in the Lycian hero, Bellerophon, the distinct traces of an earlier Poseidonian character. Nor does the adoption of these conclusions oblige me to give up that of the former essay, that Perseus is latent in the Bellerophon of Lycia, and perhaps in the hero of the Harpy Tomb.‡ In truth, each of these instances of the fusion of symbolism, heroic or divine, renders the other more probable, by avouching the agency in the growth and progress of mythology, of the principles of combination and development.

It was an effect of the imaginative,—the mythical tendency of the Greek mind,—that the same divinity acquired in each locality a peculiarity of attributes, of titles, and legendary history, from the character of his particular worshippers, their leading occupations and interests, or tone of mind. Thus, in many cases, the original identity ceased to be discernible, in others was greatly obscured; and when the school of poetry, represented by Homer and Hesiod, glanced with the eyes of artists rather

\* Diod. Sic.

† Paus.

‡ Bellerophon qui et Perseus. Latini Mythog. Tres, II 131.



than of devotees, over the diversified celebrations and variously conceived divinities of Greece; selected and elaborated the most expressive forms, assigned emblems,\* and invented histories and genealogies, and left entirely out of view those which did not harmonize with their ideal; Greek religion may have ultimately appeared to many of the Greeks, as it has too generally been considered by moderns, as founded on, and starting from, a systematic personification of all the powers of nature and qualities of mind.

To the local tendencies, of which modern mythologists have provided ample illustration, we might ascribe the development of Poseidon, at Corinth, into Bellerophon, and of Bellerophon, in Lycia, into Perseus. But there were other influences at work at this time, when literature did little or nothing to give fixity to conceptions any more than to language, that might bring about the community of attributes of various mythical personages; though their mode of operation was the reverse of the former.

The exaggeration of a special attribute, by impoverishing (so to speak) the general character of the Divine idea, would naturally weaken its hold on veneration in some moods of mind, and induce a predilection for contrasted characteristics. Such natural tendencies, and in some cases, perhaps, priestly or political interest, would promote the reaction that is traced so widely, of the recomposition of the idea of a Universal Providence. This we find attempted, by such associations of divinities, as of the Athenian Dionysus with Korè as his mother, or of Poseidon

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\* Herod.

and Demeter, already referred to; and if artistic sensibilities to unity and keeping, were the chief agencies in completing and ordering the circle of Olympic gods; to the reaction in question is ascribable much of the share of devout acknowledgment, that the poetic system ultimately came in for. The same tendency is discovered, in the identification of various divinities, by the combination of attributes, however heterogeneous; always facilitated by the many points of resemblance, in the original germ of either. In the later history of mythology this recombination had remarkable sway, and, perhaps, reached its acme in the worship of Jupiter Serapis, in whom were combined the most influential characteristics of the most influential forms of Paganism; who is at once Zeus, Hades, Serapis, the Sun or Mithra, and Dionysus. The tendency was in existence and variously active at an earlier date, and along with others, sufficiently explains the apparent inconsistency that has led us into this long digression.\*

“The Corinthian hero Bellerophon,” says Müller, “cor-

\* Most of these tendencies are illustrated in the following analysis, which may find a place here, though it is more interesting as illustrative of Homer than of Lycia.

Bellerophon, we are told in the *Iliad*, was a guest of Oineus, ancestor of Diomedes, to whom he presented a cup, receiving in return, as a pledge of friendship and alliance, a belt,—it is to be hoped a fairer equivalent than the luckless Glaucus was treated to by the descendant.

Now the name of Oineus hints a wine legend, which is not threatened in vain. Dionysus visited Oineus, was liberally entertained, and taught him in requital the culture and use of the vine,—a gratification sufficiently like the present of a cup to decide a mythologist that both legends in origin are indivisible and one.

But if Bellerophon here is the equivalent of Dionysus, grounds at least as good appear to identify Oineus with Icarius, who, like him, receives

responds in his activity (as an inquiring mythologist, Völcker,\* has proved) to the god Poseidon as horse tamer and spring opener. Now, he is also called the son of Poseidon, in contradistinction to his putative father (πατήρ κατ' ἐπικλησιν) Glaucus, the Sisyphid† mentioned by Homer in the well known passage. But knowing that Glaucus is a favourite epithet of the sea, that Anthedon in Bœotia worshipped a sea-god Glaucus, and that in Corinth itself is found a heroine Glauce,‡ one can no longer doubt that originally the father of Bellerophon was styled Poseidon-Glaucus." §

Hence it becomes clear that the Ionian kings (βασιλεις), whether deriving themselves from Neleus or the Lycian

the wine-god with liberality, like him is rewarded with a pipe of wine, taught to drain it and fill it again; and some legends ascribe to his divinity as much liking for Erigone, daughter of Icarius, as others for the wife of the very hospitable Oineus.

Now Icarius, bent on diffusing the useful knowledge, takes with him two assistants, his daughter Erigone and his dog Mæra, and instead of tests and diagrams, travels with a waggon of wine (the future stage of Thespis), and dies at the hands of the Attic peasants, who new to science, mistook intoxication for madness and fuddle for death. Erigone hangs herself, the dog drowns himself, and the whole party are provided for among the stars, as Virgo, Arcturus, Canicula; even Boötes, the waggon and all.

But Icarius-Oineus being thus transferred to the celestial map, I remember the very handsome belt that the said Oineus gave to Bellerophon, in return for the present of a cup,—(at least, so Diomedes said,—he had not got it to show, he said he had left it at home,—Diomed, mind, was as poor as a rat,)—and the belt, accompanying its owner to the skies, brings us at once to the belted Orion, who is also attended by a dog.

This leads up to apparently the normal legend, whereon it is sufficient to refer to the beautiful Essay of Müller. (It is appended to the English translation of the Prolegomena.)

\* Myth. der Jap. 5.

† Schol. vet. Pind. O. xiii. 98.

‡ Paus. ii. 3, 4.

§ Müller: Prolegomena, 273.

Glaucus, descendant of the Corinthian, were of a Poseidonian stem.

But why, it may be asked, does not Poseidon in this case, as in corresponding instances of mythical relationship, appear in connection with or aiding his servants and descendants at Troy?

Poseidon was previously engaged for his Pyliaus,—he could not assist both Antilochus and Glaucus, and the legend of his quarrel with Laomedon, probably committed him to enmity to Troy. The poet, therefore, seems to have studied the consistency of his groups, by keeping the relation of Poseidon to the Lycians, entirely out of sight. In the *Odyssey*, however, he appears occupying the mountains of the Solymi,—a usual indication of localized worship.

Gratefully, and at last, we now recognize the relation of the Nereids of the monument, to the royal race of Xanthus—the renowned Glaucidæ.

In immediate relation to the sea-god Glaucus, are named the Nereids, as occupying with him the island of Delos,\* where he gave oracles for the gods,—“or as others sager sing,” taught Apollo vaticination, an adumbration of the same sequence of oracular influence, that occurs in the legend of Poseidon as original occupant of Delphi. At Delos, as at Delphi, the most ancient of the sacred hymns (and even the invention of the hexameter), were ascribed to a Lycian Olen. In this relation, the appropriateness with which both Homer and Hesiod, give such names to Nereids as Nemertes and Apseudes, is apparent.

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\* Aristot. ap. Athen. vii. c. 47.

The inferred relation of Glaucus to Poseidon, may not appear less probable, by glancing at his relations in other directions.

Among the Nereids at Delos, he occupies the position that would seem more appropriate to Nereus himself; but that Nereus, as a marine soothsayer,\* appears identical with him,—the same personage under another name. Nereus, according to Apollodorus and Pherecydes, had the power of transformation, but nevertheless, was bound by Hercules, who profited by the instructions of the Nymphs. But Hercules here performs the part ascribed to Menelaus in the Odyssey, when instructed by Ino-Eidothoe he binds, in spite of his transformations, the soothsaying sea-god Proteus; and the fair train of the Nereids of Glaucus, alas! must submit to recognize their representatives in the herd of unengaging Phocæ.† The dignity of the mythus is, however, vindicated by remains of mystic versions, that lead us to recognize it as an ancient *hieros logos*, modified and adapted for poetic purposes, but still retaining traces, though highly altered, by no means obliterated, of its original symbolism—the perpetual flux of natural forms, vital and inorganic, and the transmigration of the soul.†

\* Horat. Od. i. 5.

† Compare the contest of Peleus with the transforming sea-nymph, Thetis. Thetis is the sea; Peleus the land; according to Tzetzes:

Πηλεὺς, γαῖα φερειβίος, ἡδὲ Θέτις γὰρ θαλάσση.

Ante-hom. 68.

a late authority; but Homer intimates his consciousness not ambiguously:

ἡλῆες! οὐκ ἀρὰ σοί γε πατὴρ ἢ ἱπποτά Πηλεὺς,  
οὐδὲ Θέτις μητὴρ· γλαυκὴ δὲ σὲ τικτεῖ θαλάσση,  
πέτραι δ' ἠλίσβεται.

Iliad xvi. 33.

"The very ancient and fish-like" Proteus himself thus reappears, as nothing less than the personified primitive substance of Creation; and the characteristic power of metamorphosis, brings all these marine and soothsaying divinities back to the Poseidon of Pylos, the patron of the versiform Periclymenus.

One of the oldest of the marbles is probably the satyr-like figure; his position and gestures are not such as to suggest Bacchic relations; and comparing some satyrs in mural paintings in the Etruscan room, I claim him as a marine personage, and thus pertaining to Glaucid mythology. The large series of bas-reliefs of various animals, with which he is associated, I suspect is not without relation to the mystic transformations alluded to.

Thus the symbolism of Poseidonian worship, is harmoniously combined with that of Aphrodite at Xanthus, as it was at Corinth,\* whence sprung Bellerophon,—yet with a difference. The goddesses of all growth and germination, are appropriately associated here with the Queen of prolific Marriage,—the chief support and bond of civil life; but she does not herself appear, as at Corinth, a sea-nymph; still less as protectress of the tribe, for whom Pindar had to check the lyric fervour of her praises, to insinuate an apology.

It was indeed in this latter character, as legends teach us, that she came into violent collision with the worship of Poseidon, which seems to have acquired, perhaps in consequence, even a tendency to the opposite extreme of

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\* Pindar; Pausanias.

asceticism. This is the moral of the stories of Hippolytus and Glaucus, both, in origin, titles of Poseidon,—thence types of his worshippers,—both perishing by the vengeful influence of Aphrodite, (the exile of Diomedes is due to the same divinity,) whom they had interfered with or contemned.\* The students of Paul, will remember the renewal of the controversy in the same place, in the later days of Paganism.†

Be it here remarked, that the Glaucidæ thus appear as one of those old heroic families of which Caria and Persia have already furnished examples, and whose influence, alike religious and political, appears so distinctly in the history of all Greek states, and is extended by legend—Lycian antiquities demonstrate how plausibly,—beyond the proper Greek boundary. The claims to genuine Greek ancestry of Æacidæ and Heracleidæ, of Epirus and Macedonia, and even the legitimacy of the leaders of the Dorian invasion, gain much from the same analogy.

The advance of the republican spirit in Greece, while it divested the heroic families of royalty, still spared much of their influence,—the political portion of it, in some instances, being most considerable, in others the religious,—the family remaining the chief administrators and expositors of the mysteries and purifications of their peculiar worship. Of this the Athenian Eumolpidæ furnish the most familiar example, and the traditional genealogy of the Pisistratids, ascending to the Neleidæ of Pylos, may

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\* The history of Bellerophon's calumnation and exile has, in more respects than one, a pertinence to the same point.

† Goethe: Braut von Corinth.

have greatly assisted their ambition, if it did not suggest it.\*

Sparta, however, as in other instances, preserved most purely the original Hellenic sentiment and institution : and though even here, the prerogatives of the kings were hampered by constitutional restrictions, after their death the old associations, with the claims of the heroic race, were allowed full sway ; a general mourning and solemn and ceremonious lamentation immediately took place ; each last king was celebrated as the most excellent of his race. Xenophon, who in several instances indicates that the royal obsequies of Sparta were peculiar, especially notices at the death of Agis, that his funeral honours were of a character so elevated, as to imply that he was more than human ; and thus, to the member of an heroic race were assigned those honours, was ascribed that influence, that were given to the founder of it.†

\* Herodot. v. 65.

† On this subject, which I have illustrated in the Essay on the Harpy Tomb, I will only add, as confirmation of my views, a reference to a passage in Nicephorus Chumnus, that will be found given at length by Creuzer, (Comm. Herod. p. 335,) and quote, as peculiarly illustrative of a Lycian Heroön, a tragedian's account of the sepulture of a hero of a race perhaps related to the Lycian,—Rhesus, slain by Diomed, of whom the Muse, his mother, declares, " He shall not go within the dark plain of the earth : thus much will I solicit of the nymph below, child of Demeter, harvest-giving goddess, to remit his soul. To me he will be henceforth as dead . . . . no more will he behold his mother's form, &c.\*\* . . . but concealed in the caves of this silver-giving land, will lie beholding the light—a man become a divinity."

\*\* Κρυπτός δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆσδ' ὑπαγύρου χθονός,  
'Ανθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος. Rhesus. 975.



## SECTION V.

**I**T is time to conclude; however various and remote have been the excursions to which the complicated character of these remains has invited us,—and many others remain unexplored,—all bring us back to the confirmed recognition of our first observation, the intimate combination of elements most diversified, effected by the vigorous assimilative energy of Lycian character. This energy, we have seen, appears to have flourished in Lycia long after its determination in Greece, which in earlier times, shared it in common; and in the highly enriched yet elegant and interesting monument before us, we have had occasion to trace some impressions of each of its leading activities from the earliest times. The genuine Lycian, the Hellenic Glaucid prince, the Carian colonist, the Persian satrap, are each and all represented by some characteristic trait of history, mythology, or style; each and all have contributed something of their respective peculiarities, yet without injury to the unity of the result, as national, local, Xanthian.

This beautiful monument may thus be regarded as the expression of the happiness of disposition, the harmonious tone of mind, which truly reflected in the Lycian charac-

terization of Homer, in spite of collisions and catastrophes from without, continued through historical times, a due balance of amiability and vigour, that seems to have impressed and interested every observer whose allusion to the country remains. But if the causes and influences that decided its details and spirit, have sources so deep and so remote, as we have seen, among the earliest of which record remains; there is also some appearance that it bears, in traces of defacement, marks of the great moral change, of which the shock convulsed, and for a time disorganized, not only Lycia, but the world, and swept away so much that was most graceful and admirable, though but to restore it in other forms.

The earthquake that rent the walls and shook the basement of the Nereid Monument, was not the first ravager, though probably the latest. The statues of the Nereids are all headless; not all the zeal of Sir Charles Fellows could succeed in discovering the smallest fragment of the missing heads, though of the other dilapidated portions such fragments were, as the restorations testify, abundant. In explanation of this, the traveller points to the signs of the zeal of Xanthus as a Christian city, in the numerous remains of churches and religious establishments, with which the site of the city is covered; and to the monograms within the Harpy Tomb, which show that once upon a time it sheltered an anchorite.

At the date, however, of most of these remains, fanaticism in power, would hardly have contented itself with simple decollation of the idolatrous emblems; and thus the outrage would rather bear the impress of the bold adventure of an earlier zealot.

What proof, or at least presumptions have we, of the earlier introduction and progress of Christianity, in Lycia? Paul on one occasion touched at Patara, but there is no account of his ministry in Lycia. The early progress of the Gospel in "the cities of Cilicia," however, and the notice of the lively zeal with which it was extended in all quarters\* by his Pisidian disciples; confirmed by the speedy appearance of flourishing churches at Laodicea and Colosse, independently of his personal exertions, render it certain that Christianity must have found early entrance into Lycia,—with what probable reception and results, may be gathered from the examples recorded in Acts, of the zeal of the converted and fierceness of opponents in neighbouring cities.

To the excitement consequent on the progress of the new religion, which caused such disturbance at Ephesus and in the cities of Pisidia, as well as in Macedonia and Greece, I might probably have ascribed the tumults that occurred in Lycia under Claudius, though they had not been designated by epithets that pertain to the Roman formula of religious vituperation,—the "heretical and damnable" of ancient orthodoxy.†

The date is certainly early, A. D. 42; but at that date Christian churches already flourished in Cilicia and at Antioch, and among the most zealous evangelizers were men of the neighbouring Cyprus.

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\* Acts xiii. 49; xvi. 5.

† *Exitiabiles inter se discordias.* (Suet. v. 25.) Compare the *exitiabilis superstitio*, of Tacitus, applied to Christianity.

The mutilations of the Nereid Monument, which only applied to the mythological portion of the sculpture, may perhaps have been a leading incident in the tumults under Claudius, that reached such a pitch that lives were lost, and Lycia was in consequence of them, deprived of its liberties so far as to be annexed to Pamphylia, until it was ultimately reduced to the form of a Roman province by Vespasian.\* It seems to have been in the course of the proceedings connected with these changes, that the incident occurred of the degradation by Claudius of a dignified Lycian, (a Lyciarch?) on the ground of his ignorance of the Latin language.†

The decree of Claudius, banishing Jews from Rome in consequence of disputes "about Christ," exemplifies the summary manner in which Roman authorities treated such disorders: other examples are found in The Acts; and there also it is, in the speech of the townclerk of Ephesus and its instant effect, that intimation occurs of the jealousy with which they were regarded in countries that, like Lycia at this time, were permitted the privilege of internal self-government. An allusion to this jealousy will be recollected in the fourth Gospel; it was a part of the policy of imperial Rome,—the admiration of Tacitus,‡ by which it succeeded in suppressing every spark of the spirit, not only of Greek, but of Gaul and Briton; afterwards so sorely missed in the contest with the German and the Goth.

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\* Sueton.: Claud. and Vespas.

† Suetonius.

‡ Vit. Agric.

The most important remains of the Nereid Monument, are now in course of honourable enshrinement in the British Museum, forming, with other relics of Lycia, a collection of antiquities worthy, by their classical interest, to be associated with the Elgin Marbles. And in contemplating either collection, a certain distinct moral fitness and harmony is suggested, between the characteristics of their origin and the circumstances of their acquisition. The Parthenon was raised and decorated at the unwilling expense of discontented, soon to be rebellious allies; a monument, not only of the genius, but of some of the most questionable qualities of Athens; and the disastrous war that resulted from the policy it may be taken to represent, makes admiration hesitate, though the ultimate conclusion be, that "the city pre-eminent in poetry and arms"\* deserved her position, and, on the whole, the gratitude of the world for the use she made of it.

Like hesitation, if a like conclusion, attends the recollection of the spoliation of the Acropolis. But there is no cold check to the satisfaction with which we may regard our Lycian treasures. In the not scanty catalogue that England boasts, of liberal-minded sons, who having "the passion and the power to roam," bear yet in mind a generous sentiment of the best distinctions of their country, and an ambition to advance them, Sir Charles Fellows has earned himself high and honourable station; and in the combination of disinterested spirit and well directed exertion, by which the discoveries were originally made and

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\* Aristoph.: Equit. 582.

then most honourably and advantageously improved, we seem to recognize a reflection over the ruins of Lycia, of the same genial lustre, that in the pages of poet and historian beams for ever, around its heroic and historic fame.

Τέλος.

**HARPAGUS THE MEDE.**







## HARPAGUS THE MEDE.

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**H**ARPAGUS is a personage who deserves some attention; a son of Harpagus is named, both in Greek and Lycian, on the inscribed stele of Xanthus, and the presumption is strong that this was at least a descendant of the lieutenant of Cyrus, considering how much it was in accordance with the Persian system, for the conqueror of a province to become its military governor or satrap, and under favourable circumstances to transmit his authority to his family: and Zonaras states that Cyrus committed Lycia to a satrap. There is much also in the question of his origin, that leads directly to our purpose, the illustration of the border relations of Greek and Barbarian.

For how came a Median prince (Harpagus is called by Herodotus a kinsman of Astyages) by a Greek name, and a name so remarkable as Harpagus? That the name was

genuine Greek, is strongly argued by the agreement of the orthography of Lycian inscriptions; and though it were merely a Hellenized form of a Barbaric name similar in sound, that was really borne by the Mede, still the rarity of such transformations, which must be distinguished from mere changes of termination, argues that when it did take place it was invited, as in the example of Pasargada, Hellenized as Persepolis, by a corresponding similarity in significance. This significance in the present case is very remarkable; it bears close reference to a far-branching mythology of the Asian Greeks.

The story of the daughters of Pandarus, is only one of the many *mythi*, prevalent at an early date in Asia Minor, which symbolize the great annual alternation of Nature by various figures of violent ravishment (*ἄρπαιη*) of youth and beauty, by supernatural powers. This is the significance of the daughters of Niobe, falling by the arrows of Apollo and Artemis; Chloris the youngest spared alone, emblem of the surviving germ of Nature,

“The youthful promise of reviving years,”

the analogue of the Pharmaceia of the Athenian story, and the fifth and remaining child on the Harpy Tomb.† In the title “Harpy” of this mythus we have the root of the name “Harpagus;” but it occurs more strikingly and with a formular frequency, in connection with another widely diffused *mythus* of the same purport, that of Gany-mede, which is deeply interwoven with the mythology of

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† Panofka—on Harpy Monument. Archæol. Zeitung.

Crete, Troy, and Phrygia. At two places on the shores of the Propontis, the mythus was localized, and sites were shown which contested with each other the title of the true Harpageion,\* the scene of the aphanism of Gany-mede; and in Eubœa was another such Harpageion,† which thus appears appropriated wherever the mythus obtained influence; just as the scene of the rape of Kore, to the Sicilians was the vale of Enna, to the Thracians the banks of the Strymon. Guided thus, I recognize in the river Harpagus or Harpasus of Caria, an indication of another such naturalization, and Harpagus is thus the appropriate title of the ravishing divinity or power, Hades, Poseidon, Zeus, the Storms; the assumption of which by a prince, is a parallel instance to the constant Oriental usage, of the assumption by princes of divine titles, or of names compounded of them. Of this usage we have examples at hand, in Mithridates, the servant of Harpagus, and Cyrus =the Sun,‡ Pharnaces in Pontus,§ and Candaules in Lydia; to descend no lower than our period in the remarkable history of the idea, or indeed to mount no higher. ||

Thus we are led to infer an early proximity of the Greek and Median races, and their partial fusion or mutual reaction, of which Lycia furnishes an analogy, far eastward in the country between Ecbatan and the Euxine, where Herodotus places the influence of Harpagus and the edu-

\* Thuc. viii. 107. Strabo, xiii.

† Athenæus.

‡ Plutarch in Artax. Hesychius in v. Ctesias Pers.

§ Strabo.

|| Homer's Paphlagonian prince, Harpalion, points the same way.

cation of Cyrus, and there it is precisely that we meet with another river Harpagus or Harpasus. I apprehend that the names of localities given by Homer, the correctness of which is manifested by their continuance through historical times, sufficiently avouch the impression made by a Greek population on the southern shores of the Euxine, long before his age; and what may not have been the development of such a population, eastward and inland? Of what must have been the contemporary development westward and coastwise, of the great race of Medes and Persians, (probably as nearly related as Dorians and Ionians,) we have traces,—mythi apart,—in the deep root of their religion in Cappadocia,\* and in some notices of Herodotus, that have more weight than has been allowed them. It cannot have been at random, that Herodotus declared that the Medes had a tradition of their own, of their early reception of Athenian influences. He ought perhaps at all times to have been held sufficient authority for the existence of such a tradition; its accordance with independent Greek legend, especially when regarded by the light reflected from Lycian archæology, is strong presumption for a foundation in history. Equally evidenced and of similar import, is the prevalence among the Persians of a traditional claim to the occupation of the whole of Asia Minor;† and Persian *logioi* are quoted as giving a peculiar version of the earliest intercourse between Greece and Egypt, and Greece and Assyria.‡ Under these circumstances, the adoption by a Mede in the time of Cyrus of a title of Greek derivation, and connected with Greek

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\* Strabo.

† Herod.

‡ Herod. I. i.

mythology, is surely not so surprising and anomalous as the later instance of the employment by Mardonius at Platea—by the lieutenant and son-in-law of Xerxes—of Greek soothsayers.\*

Moreover the mythology more immediately in question, has analogies and relations, as distinctly Magian as Hellenic. The idea of the Harpies, and especially the treatment of their lower extremities, has much resemblance to some forms of the floating aerial figures so prevalent in Persian symbolism. As personifications of the winds, they approach to objects of decided Persian veneration.

The extraordinary veneration of the Persians for rivers is again in accordance with the ascription to a river, of a divine title, and in this respect the river Harpagus is in direct analogy to the not very remote river Cyrus. White horses, which were sacrificed to the sun, were sacrificed monthly to the hero Cyrus, who assumed the title, and the Magians who accompanied the expedition of Xerxes, sacrificed white horses to the river Strymon in Thrace.

Here we touch again upon fresh suggestions of the early reactions of the East and West. Thrace is one of the earliest religious centres of Greece,—classic ground not only of Bacchic religion, but still earlier of Light and Fire worship,—of Orpheus son of Apollo, and Lycurgus.

Herodotus states that the Thracians down to his own time, neither ploughed nor sowed the line of march of the army of Xerxes, but held it in great veneration. This fact can hardly be accounted for otherwise than by extraordinary sympathy between the Thracians, and the Magians

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\* Herod. ix.

of the expedition, the propitiators of the Strymon. Herodotus also relates the agreement between the rites of Thracian and Pæonian women worshipping the queenly Artemis, and those which were celebrated at Delos; and Delos was spared and respected in a marked manner by the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes, that ravaged all other Greek sanctuaries.

The Pæonians of Thrace, we have seen, were an Asian race allied to the Trojans, and thus their allies in the Iliad. The names of their leaders become significant in connection with the preceding remarks; *Pyræchmes* and *Asteropæus*, present an accordance that is always significant in Homer; and in the fate of the latter, who perishes on the eleventh day after his arrival, we have an adumbration of an astronomical mythus. There appears also a reflection of a religious antagonism, in the vaunt of Achilles over *Asteropæus*, son of the *Axius*, of the superiority of the *Æacids*, descendants of *Zeus*, to the progeny of *Rivers*. *Pyræchmes* reminds of the *Pyraithoi*, the *Magi* of *Cappadocia*,\* whose extraordinary hierarchies emerge but late, it is true, into history, but cannot have sprung from any local cause that began to operate only within historical times. The Pæonians moreover were worshippers of the Sun.†

\* Strabo.

† Παιονες σεβουσι τον ηλιον\* αγαλμα δε ηλιου Παιονικον διςπος βραχυς υπερ μακρου ξυλου. (Max. Tyr. Diss. 8, c. 8.) Hence their detention or embezzlement of the horses and chariot of the Sun left in their care by Xerxes. (Herod. viii. 115; and vii. 55.) The Thracians called the Sun *Zeuxippus*. (Joh. Malala.)

Compare the invocation of the *Tereus* of *Sophocles* (fragt.).

Ἥλιε, φιλιπποις Θρηξί πρεσβιστον σελας.

The significance of the name of the mythical Lycurgus of Thrace, in conjunction with these traces of Fire worship and the Orphic sect of Apollo, presents a combination that tallies remarkably with the agreement observed by Herodotus,\* between the worship of Apollo at Patara in Lycia, and the customs of the great temple of Belus at Babylon; of Lycians in the immediate neighbourhood of Thrace, and even in Thrace, we have already spoken. Thrace and Lycia claim common share and interest, in the Delian legend of the Hyperborean worshippers of Apollo;† and the strange-sounding stories of the Hyperborean hecatombs of asses‡ lead to those countries, where the noble wild ass might well be substituted for the horse sacrificed by Magians, as a worthy offering in the native worship of the Sun.§

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Thus we perceive the suggestion of the chariot and white horses of Rhesus the Thracian, in the *Iliad*. A chariot, it is clear, pertained to the symbolism of the Thracian, as of the Rhodian Sun-god. There is much to be said to the same purpose on the chariots of Homer's Pandarus; but the subject at large demands a monography.

\* I. 182.

† Pausan. Herodot.

‡ Compare the bas-relief of the tomb of Cadyanda.

§ Of the actual sacrifice of asses by Persians, a distinct notice is preserved by Athenæus (p. 145); and the analogies of the religious systems of Thrace, Delos, and Lycia, to Magian elements in Cappadocia and the Caucasus, Syria and Babylon, appear reflected in a curious mythus related by Antoninus Liberalis.

Cleinis, husband of Harpe and father of Lycius, Ortygius, Harpasus and Artemicha, lived in Mesopotamia near Babylon, beloved of Apollo and Artemis. Having heard that the Hyperboreans sacrificed asses to Apollo, he wished to introduce the same custom at Babylon, but threatened by Apollo, he desisted; his sons, Lycius and Harpasus, who persisted, excited the anger of the god against the family, who ultimately were transformed into various birds.

There is much in the temper of the later collisions of Greece and Persia, that speaks to me of a lingering irritation from earlier religious collisions. If an opinion can be justified on a matter so obscure, I would express a doubt whether the burning of the temple at Sardis by the Athenians, which caused such immediate agitation among "the Persians settled within the Halys," and such lasting resentment in the nation, was so casual as represented; I would point to Callias the hiero-keryx fighting at Marathon in his priestly garb, and suggest that it was a consequence of traditional religious antipathies rather than the original provocation. The source of the tradition may be indicated in the Thracian origin of the Eumolpidæ.

That such a fact as this is not stated by an historian, matters little, and is not surprising, if it is to be divined from his narrative. Little should we know of the religious history of Athens,—so illustrative of the political, if the comedian and the philosopher, did not supply the omissions of Thucydides and Xenophon.

The early processes of the combinations and reactions that I have intimated, are lost in the dark night of ages; but that their influence remained, and was operative to later times, below the more public and political movements that alone are noticed by historians, is evidenced satisfactorily

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In illustration of this story it may be noticed, that wild asses, according to Aristotle (*Hist. An.* vi. 24, 36), were found anciently in Mesopotamia; that Syria has a river Lycus, and is mentioned with Thrace and Lycia, as an original seat of the Cyclopes of Perseus; and that the later development of the worship of Apollo in these parts, after the conquest of Alexander, is of a nature to indicate its derivation there from earlier times.

These points will receive farther illustration when some future traveller shall explore Cilicia from East to West.



to my apprehension, by the intimate connection and sympathy that is discovered amongst Orphic, Magian, and Chaldean ideas, and traditions and celebrations in the great and concluding development of Paganism, in the religious revivals of Plato and the Platonists.

A flying vestige of the intercourse of the multifarious tribes, that made Thrace and Asia Minor a true ethnographical mosaic, is the peculiar tiara or cowl, with sides continued downwards to cover the cheeks and lips, which is described by Strabo as worn by the Magians of Cappadocia and the princes of Persia.\* This head-dress, which comes before us so frequently as a Phrygian "property," is found on the sculptures of the palace and tombs of Persepolis, (and thus appropriately in the Mosaic of the battle of Issus at Pompeii,†) and is recognized on the Harpagus,‡ as well as on one of the Lycians who are seeking admission into the town, on the bas-reliefs of the Nereid Monument at Xanthus.

The cap of Harpagus as Median and Magian, explains the concealment by the Magian Smerdis, of his cropped ears, and so far good; but as Phrygian, it also explains the concealment of the extraordinary aural development of King Midas: and the agreement of the stories in the betrayal of the secrets by gossiping wives, makes it probable

\* Οἱ μάγοι . . . . . τιάρας περικείμενοι πικρὰς καθεικυίας ἐκατέρωθεν μέχρι τοῦ καλύπτειν τὰ χεῖλη καὶ τὰς παραγναθίδας. Strab. xv. 111.

Ἐσθὴς δὲ τοῖς ηγεμόσι . . . . . τιάραι παραπλήσιαι ταῖς τῶν μάγων. Id. ibid.

† Pompeii was destroyed A.D. 79, in the first year of Titus. In the temple of Peace built by Vespasian near the Forum, was dedicated a picture of the battle of Issus, painted by Helen, daughter of Timon the Egyptian, a contemporary of the event. Of this the mosaic is probably a copy. (Ptol. Nov. Hist. iv.)

‡ See p. 95, Vignette of Harpagus from upper frieze of the basement.

that the two stories are one. The Phrygian I suspect to be the earliest, and at any rate as true as the other.

Again, it is also the costume of Mithra, who presents us with a remarkable Medo-Persian or Magian, analogue of the Greek divinities, whose ravishings symbolize the vicissitudes alike of the year and human life. Perseus, slayer of the Gorgon, is the most closely related Greek type of Mithra; his peculiar sickle-like sword—*harpè*—is thus sometimes introduced\* among the symbols of life, death, fertility and harvest, of the Mithraic group.†

But Hesiod ‡ places this weapon, which he calls both

\* D'Hancarville.

† Now this *harpe* is found on the coins of Arpi in Apulia, of which the mythological reference of the name is thus recognized as analogous to that of Drepanum and Zancle in Sicily to the sickle of Demeter. This analogy is very complete;—the sickle-sword of Perseus corresponds with the sickle of Demeter, who is recognized on Sicilian coins with a warlike weapon; is styled in the Homeric hymn Chrysaor, like Perseus himself; and by Lycophron, the Sword-bearer. The *harpe* thus identified in Apulia is recognized in the *uniquetra* coins of Lycia, with which Perseus is so closely connected in mythology; as wielder of it, and as ravishing power, he is Perseus-Harpagus,—an exactly equivalent title to Mithridates or Mithraustes.

The occurrence of the same symbol on the coins of Lycia and of Apulia, is explainable by the traces preserved by mythology, that either country was subjected to influence in very early times from the common centre, Argos. Diomedes, to whom was ascribed the founding of Arpi, along with numerous other Italian cities, and in the Iliad represented as connected with the Lycian princes by ties of hereditary hospitality, is connected as immediately with Argos as Perseus, who brought thither the Cyclops from Lycia. The symbol in question occurs on the coins of L. Thorius Balbus (Myth. Dict.) of Lanuvium, as late as the age of Cicero. At Lanuvium the worship of Diomedes, was associated with that of Juno Sospita, who is represented on the reverse of the coin.

Spear-heads are frequent symbols on coins; and one legend, it will be remembered, derived the name of Mycenæ from the weapon of Perseus.

‡ Theog.

sickle and sabre—*harpè* and *drepanon*—in the hands of another ravishing power, Chronos. He receives it from Rhea, as Perseus his from Hermes; and in his employment of it in the mutilation of Ouranos, whose severed members impregnate nature, he has a manifest analogy to Mithra piercing with his dagger the symbol of “all Nature’s germins,”—to Perseus, whose *harpe* decapitates Medusa, one of the sister Gorgons, whose natural significance appears as unequivocally, and who are even styled by Hesiod, the Hesperides. These analogies of occupation, are in perfect harmony with that which exists among the powers themselves; of Mithra as the Sun to Perseus, who has similar pretensions, and is referred to by the Chronici Alexand. as connected with the Magian worship of the Sun and Fire, —and of both Mithra and Perseus to Chronos, who is literally Time.\*

Thus we have Hades, Perseus, and Chronos, all Greek examples of ravishing powers; the first by distinct tradition, the two latter by their special symbols, as well as by analogy to the first, having claims to the title Harpagus.†

Perseus and Chronos blend most naturally with Mithra; and among the changes and juxtapositions in Asia Minor, of Greek and Persian races and worships to Mithra, either of them may have communicated the title, thence assumed

\* =Kronos. Dionys. Halicarn.

† Xenophon (Anab.) gives an account of a people on the Euxine near the Harpagus, who carried falcated knives, and cut off their enemies’ heads and carried them away. The action, instrument, and locality, correspond curiously with the legend of Perseus.

by a Median prince. If the claim of Perseus might appear most probable, as being himself in many respects but a Hellenized form of Mithra, that of Chronos is supported by the appearance that the Mede of Herodotus owes more to him than a name.

The early story of Cyrus, in which Harpagus makes such figure, is most unsatisfactory. That the hero was a scion of the royal house that he subverted; that prodigies at his birth, or before his birth, gave warning of the fatality of his career; that the king in consequence sought to destroy him; his wondrous escape, nurture by wild animals, or by a herdsman's wife, and education among herdsmen; his youthful distinction, appearance at court, recognition, dignity, and so forth; all this is the substance of the biography of heroes of remote or obscure origin in all ages; it is the story of *Œdipus*, of *Romulus*, and even of *Moses* as modified by *Josephus*, who must needs represent the destruction of Israelitish children by the Pharoah, as prompted by supernatural warning of the birth of a hostile hero.

The participation of Harpagus in the affair, is of much the same value. *Astyages* commissions him to destroy the infant *Cyrus*; and on the discovery that he has failed to do so, wreaks his vengeance on him by causing him unconsciously to eat the flesh of his own child. Such a vengeance is another stock incident, that recurs in the instance of the *Scythians* and *Cyaxares*;\*—it is no impossibility among the barbarities of Oriental courts, but in this particular instance the coincidence of the title of Harpagus, reminds forcibly of the details of the mythus of *Chronos*;

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\* Herod. i. 73.

the devouring by him of his children, and the deception,—reversed in the historical version, that is practised on him in the matter.\* The mythus of Tereus and Philomela, of

\* The same story, it will be recollected, occurs in the traditions of the Pelopids of Argos,—the Thyestean banquet, transferred from Asia, there can be little doubt, as a religious mythus, and transformed in Greece into a biographical anecdote of the Phrygian family of princes with whom it was introduced.

I here assume, it may be noticed, that the legendary relation between Phrygia and Elis was a fact in history. How can I do otherwise? Monumental Lycia vindicates the Homeric accounts of the intimate relationships of Lycian, and Argive or Corinthian princes; and, if possible, the argument from undesigned coincidences numerous, is *a fortiori* for the existence of analogous relations between Phrygia and ante-Homeric Greece.

How came the chief hero (and Ajax too is a branch of the *Æacidæ*) and the most glorious tribe, of the great national poem to be of Phthia? The answer is found in the circumstance that Phthia was the original seat of the Achæans of Agamemnon, the dominant race of Greece, who had descended on Peloponnesus with his ancestor Pelops. Thus the poet of the people appealed to the native traditions and early associations of the people. The songs of the dispersed Achæans naturally affected most the heroic family most properly their own.

Thus the Achæans of Argos have no royal family of their own genuine race. Agamemnon, “of many isles, and of all Argos king,” is a Pelopid; their own royal race was that of which Peleus, *Æacus*, and Phocus were the mythical heads; branches of it spread to Cyprus (Teucer and Ajaces), and hence perhaps the identity of the sympathies of the Cyclic Cypria with the Homeric Epic.

Homer notices Thessalian Achaia, *Il.* ii. 69; iii. 75; *Odyss.* xxi. 107. Herodotus also, vii. 132, 173, 197. Thucydides, viii. 3. The subjects of Achilles are Myrmidons, Hellenes, Achæans; *Il.* ii. 634.

Strabo refers the Achæans to Phthia, though, a little before, he derives them thence mediately only through Xuthos, colonist of Attica, father of Achæus, and son of Deucalion of Phthia. *Οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ Φθιώται μὲν ἦσαν τὸ γένος, ὥκησαν δ' ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῃ.*—Strab. 2, 219; viii. 7. So Pausanias calls Achæus, son of Xuthus, exiled from Thessalia, Phthiotis, vii. 1.

*Ἀχαιοὺς γὰρ τοὺς Φθιώτας φασὶ συγκατελθόντας Πελοπί εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἰκίσαι τὴν Λακωνίαν.*—Strab. ii. 189; viii. 3.

That a district like Thessalian Achaia should have poured forth such a flood of population, is not a difficulty; it is a fact illustrated by numerous

cognate significance to that of Chronos, presents the deception in the same form as the anecdote of the Mede.

The same set of incidents,—violence, incest, parricide, unnatural revenge, and transformation into birds, is told by Hyginus, 242, and Parthenius, (Erot. 13,) of a Clymenus and—observe the name, Harpalice.

There is ground enough here for a sceptical speculator, to dispute the personality of the lieutenant of Cyrus altogether; but, pondered soberly, the evidence seems simply to show that Herodotus, whether at first or second hand, transformed a *hieros logos* or sacred legend of a divinity,

others in the early history of this country. Refer to Müller, (Dorians,) for some observations on the most remarkable parallel, the multitudinous diffusion of the Dorian tribe from their *parish*, it may almost be called, in Thessaly.

The question then is left,—whence the original connection of Pelops, i. e. of the race or family he represents, with Thessalian Achaia? He was son of Tantalus, whose mythical story, localized equally in Europe and Asia—in Magnesia, by Mt. Sipylus and the Achelous, (Iliad xxiv. 615; Paus. ix. 34,) intimates communication of population or princes. Pelops, it is said, leaves Asia under the compulsion of the increasing power of Troy; and thus the expedition of his descendants, bears something of the retaliative character of the wars of the English kings in southern France.

The quoted passages intimate that Laconia was pre-eminently occupied by the Achæans; and it is observable that Menelaus is treated by the poet with decidedly more favour in his fortunes and destiny than his more distinguished brother Agamemnon, professedly (Odys.) in consequence of his alliance with Helen, daughter of Zeus. This may be but a poetical version of such an alliance between the foreign prince and native family, as policy dictated to Norman Henry, with the Saxon princess Matilda—Godric and Godiva.

Pausanias mentions numerous *tumuli* in Laconia as connected with the Phrygians and Pelops; these may be found and explored some day, and settle the question.

into an historical incident in the life of a personage who bore the divinity's name. The story of Adrastus and the son of Cræsus is probably an example of this error, in its exaggerated form ;\* but great caution is required in these obliterations, or Criticism will depopulate Antiquity entirely, and exhibit it as a series of great and remarkable events, occurring independently of the activity of any great and remarkable men whatever.†

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\* In this story, Cræsus, forewarned and forearmed against the peril impending over his only son competent to succeed him, loses him, notwithstanding, by the very instrumentality of, his most refined precautions, slain by Adrastus, the Inevitable ; Adrastus, whose own story exemplifies the doctrine of fatalism in its gloomiest form. His name is associated with this doctrine in Europe, in legends and religious ceremonies at Argos and Sicyon ; and in Asia the Goddess of Necessity, Nemesis, was worshipped at Cyzicus under the title Adrasteia, and her temple was said to have been built by Adrastus. The principle of inevitable fate appears in the legend of the destruction of Thebes by Adrastus ; and so in the Iliad it is embodied in the stories of Adrastus slain by Agamemnon, just as Menelaus consented to spare him ; and the Adrastus, who notwithstanding warning and foreknowledge of his divining father, went to Troy to fall by the spear of Diomed.

† This analysis I have found curiously confirmed by a notice by F. Lajard, (*Annali dell' Instituto*, v. 106,) of the fact of analogies between Greek and Magian mythology, that I was only in a position to suspect :

“ Un des rapprochements les plus importants a signaler est sans doute cette double circonstance, qu' Ormuzd et Jupiter sont tous deux fils du Temps et fils d'un père qui dévore ou absorbe ses enfans.”

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